Curtin University Sustainability Policy Institute (CUSP)

No Ordinary Life:

Early migrant experiences of second generation displaced persons in Australia

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Human Ethics The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – updated March 2014. The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262), Approval Number #HR96/2009

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Abstract

The focus of this study is second generation displaced persons (2nd generation DPs) whose parents migrated to Australia through the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) post-World War Two. The study was restricted to 2nd generation DPs of German and/or Polish descent who were currently living in Western Australia. All but two of the cohort grew up in Western Australia. The cohort consisted of 11 males and 19 females between the ages of 45 and 70 at the time of interviews, which took place between December 2009 and May 2012.

Methodology: The grounded theory approach was used to collect and analyse the data. Thirty in-depth interviews and two focus groups were carried out and data triangulated with migration documentation and archival research to ensure validity of the data. The constant comparative method of analysis was used, as per grounded theory.

The interviews showed that many in the cohort had grown up with limited or absent social, economic, and cultural capital, in a period of assimilation, and, initially, were geographically isolated. Due to this they had to develop their own networks, leading to what I have termed "parallel lives" in which they operated until more inclusive policies, such as integration and multiculturalism emerged. Their lack of the different forms of capital, combined with living in families affected by war-induced trauma and dislocation, meant that some were given responsibilities beyond their age, resulting in the situation where older siblings took on pseudo-parenting roles in the family.

Resilience, built on survival and adaptability was a factor noted in and explored within this cohort. The 2nd generation held an important role in the DP families, due to their Australian networks. The "circle of protection" demonstrates how the 2nd generation acted as *filter*, *buffer*, and *liaison* between their parents and outside resources, both in the early stages of migration and again as their parents aged.

***Key words**:* Second generation; child migrant; displaced person; DP; refugee; assimilation; belonging; resilience; adaptability; parallel lives; circle of protection

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Contents

List of tables, images and figures

Abbreviations

Anglo-Australian	Australian-born of English/British heritage
Aussie	Australian
CBH	Commonwealth Bulk Handling
DP	Displaced person
IRO	International Refugee Organisation
NESB	Non-English speaking background
NSW	New South Wales
POW	Prisoner of war
SEC	State Electricity Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational and Scientific Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
US/USA	United States/United States of America
WA	Western Australia
WAGR	West Australian Government Railways
WWII	World War Two

Preface – or why am I doing this research

This research is a historically-based study of a particular generation, namely second generation displaced persons. As I am from the same background as my research cohort, it is also, to some extent auto-biographical. Given this, the study cannot be, and is not objective, as in a scientific research study which doesn't take into account human emotions and nuances of truth. This study is touched with emotion, so there is bias in the research but I acknowledge this where it occurs. Subjectivity in this study described as bias, lies in the fact that it is unlikely that a different researcher could repeat exactly my interpretation of the collected research data. I am part of the investigated research cohort and this thesis combines gathered information with personal insights and rigorous analysis.

Our history is important as by accessing the experiences of the past, doors that have remained closed for many, whether in our minds, our hearts, or in our society, can be opened. This can be a painful process but it can also have many rewards. Historically, we humans do not seem to learn by our previous experiences. However, I believe that if something in the past touches us in some way, then we gain an understanding which infiltrates our consciousness and can thereby engender change. It takes only one person to begin the domino effect. While I do not purport to be a Gandhi, grassroots Messiah, or facilitator of major political shifts, I would like to think that through my research, others will come to understand the issues and challenges, as well as the advantages of being the child of refugee migrants in Australia. I hope this understanding can then somehow soften current attitudes within Australia toward our current refugee families who appear to face similar issues as did our families.

The initial purpose of this research was to investigate the effect of assimilation on the 2nd generation migrants whose parents arrived in Australia post World War Two (WWII). This research has a strong personal reason. I believed that assimilation had robbed me, as one of this group of people, of my identity, that it had prevented me from knowing and acknowledging my roots. I had read that: "A tree without roots falls over" and I believe this. To know who you are, you must first know where and from whom you came. I envied those people who had roots, who could trace their family back over generations and who could relate tales of what their aunties, uncles, grandparents and even great-grandparents had done and where they had come from. I could sense in these people a stability that I knew I never had – a stability and self-

assuredness that I knew I lacked, not because of who I was but because I didn't know where I came from and because I felt ashamed of where I *might* have come from.

Growing up in a nuclear family in which one or both parents were refugees from the war, meaning they could not or, in most cases would not, for fear of their lives, ever return to their homelands, most of us lacked the extended network of long-time family friendships; our parents and we ourselves having to develop these and form our own ties in Australia, as Australians. As children, many of us longed for a grandparent, aunt, uncle, cousins that we could spend time with, have holidays with, and as a means of support as we saw occurring with our "Australian" friends and schoolmates. For myself, living with a father who trusted no-one and who had been so deeply traumatised by war that the real damage did not manifest until later in his life, affected my ability to interact confidently with other people. This was exacerbated by the shame of being different, especially having a mother who was German, at a time when Germans were intensely disliked in Australia, and a father who stood out by his difference. These feelings, I always believed, came about due to the pressure to assimilate which prevailed in Australia while I was growing up. Throughout my life I was always aware of feeling I had to hide who I was, to blend in. I was careful what I said, as on many occasions I was present when people made vicious and denigrating remarks about "the Germans" and was afraid of being verbally attacked or ostracised for having German background. I had seen this occur with another of my schoolmates who was very unpopular because of his perceived "German arrogance

Basically, I felt I had no roots, no identity and my children too had lost part of who they are. I liken it to reading a book in which every second page is blank, with only a sentence or few words here and there to let you know there should have been something written there. I felt then that it was assimilation, having to hide who I was, where I had come from and to blend in that was responsible for this. I wondered how many others in my situation felt the same or had similar experiences, which is why I commenced this research.

Introduction[1]

Context of the study

This study is based upon the experiences of a cohort of Australian second generation displaced persons of post-World War Two. That is, people of Eastern European and/or German families whose parents migrated to Australian through the IRO resettlement scheme of 1947-1952. Prior to commencing this study, I was unaware that my parents were not "normal" immigrants, as many things were not talked about in our family. I quickly realised that, because of this difference, there were so many questions about the 2nd generation DPs that needed to be asked. Post-WWII, our parents were among the first large-scale migration of non-British refugee migrants in Australia's history, which, I believe, makes them and, by association, their descendants, unique[2].

Yet, until relatively recently, the existence of the 2nd generation DPs and their experiences seemed to have been cloaked in a resounding silence in Australia. We had become indistinguishable from other 2nd generation migrants as well as our fellow Australians, largely due to our, apparently, very successful assimilation into the Australian society. It was always assumed by the Australian authorities and Australians that the children of the DPs would seamlessly assimilate into the dominant Australian society while their parents would have to be taught to do so. An article in the *Northam Advertiser* in 1953 when covering an event by the Latvian community in Northam stated that:

> It was a great night for these happy, friendly, and cultured people from far-away Europe, who have set up their homes in a new country and have assimilated and adopted many of the customs of their new land. But it is only natural that the love of mother country will always remain strong in today's parents at any rate. Their children and their

[1] The framework for this chapter is taken from Evans, Gruba, and Zobel (2013) *How to write a better thesis*, 3rd Edition, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, Australia.

[2] The pre-war intake of Jewish refugees to Australia was expected to be up to 15,000 over a three year period but was much less that that number as well as an insignificant intake compared to the later IRO refugee settlers of 1947-1952.

children's children will gradually become "dinky-die" Australians"

("Northam Latvians celebrate National Day of Independence", 1953).

To some extent, what this article stated about both first and second generation was true, though judging by my own experiences I wondered how much the process of assimilation affected the lives of the second generation and whether it was far more complex and sometimes more painful than realised.

Anyone who has grown up with the question "Who am I?" and "Where do I fit in?" will understand the motivation for this study, which was initially not only to understand who I am but more importantly "are there other people with my background who feel as I do?" Having looked back through my life I realised that this feeling had been a constant of wanting to belong somewhere and to connect with other people but not always knowing how, while others seemed to do so easily. So what was the difference between me and other people? Did people with the same background as me also consider they were "different"? Also, where were they all, as they seemed to have disappeared into the mainstream.

As a child growing up wanting to assimilate and be an "Aussie" I considered that I *was* Australian and even though my parents were naturalised Australians I still saw them, as did everyone else, as Polish and German. This in itself separated me from my parents ethnically and nationality-wise, but it also was what made me different *as*, as well as different *to*, an Australian. Later in my adult life I became aware that I was not the same as the Anglo-Australians, but at the same time realising that I had always really known this. As an adult I could now see it clearly. Not only that, I was also different to the 2nd generation whose parents had *not* come to Australia as refugees, even though we had, and still have, much in common.

An underlying question of this thesis was, where did the 2nd generation come from and who were they? Interestingly, because of their parents' experiences of the Second World War and its after-effects, the 2nd generation had a historical context which was embedded firmly in Eastern Europe, thereby making European history and the history of WWII part of their heritage. The reason for this is that these migration experiences, either direct or indirect, began post-war and were also firmly connected to the experiences of parents who had survived the War. Many of us were unaware of the extent of this connection until much later in our lives.

An important point of this thesis is that the children of the DPs, the 2nd generation, shared many of the difficulties undergone by 1st generation DPs in their early migration. Additionally, being "sandwiched" between two cultures, the 2nd generation had their own unique experiences which were not fully understood by their parents, or even the Australian community. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of the 2nd generation DPs, not in comparison with other groups of 2nd generation migrants, but within their own context, with the aim of eliciting knowledge and understanding from those experiences.

Second generation DPs comprise an important part of post-WWII Australian history, by the very fact of their uniqueness, arising from the way in which their parents migrated to Australia. Following WWII, Australia was about to meet its greatest cultural challenge since Federation in 1901 when, in 1947, the Australian Federal government agreed to accept mass migrations of DPs from mainly Eastern Europe as refugee settlers. Approximately 180,000 Displaced Persons settled in Australian between 1947 and 1952. Many brought their young children, who had been born during or after the war; often in refugee camps, while other children were born of DP parents in Australia.

This was not the first large influx of immigrants to Australia. During the gold rushes of the 1850s, approximately 370,000 immigrants arrived in the first few years, bringing the Australian population from 430,000 in 1851 to 1.7million in 1871 ("The Australian Gold Rush", 2016, Australia.gov.au). The greatest number of gold rush immigrants came from Britain and Ireland, though prospectors from the United States (US) also came to Australia in search of gold as did exiles from France, Italy, Germany, Poland and Hungary[3]. Yet, the number of non-British migrants was minimal with the largest group, the Chinese, making up only about 40,000, and by 1861 3.3 percent of Australia's population, with European immigrants making up an even smaller percentage of the immigrant and Australian populations (ibid).

One hundred years after the gold rushes, the Displaced Persons arrived in Australia. They were predominantly from Eastern Europe, and were the first of the large mass migrations of non-British ethnicities and nationalities to this country. Their languages and cultures were completely unknown to Australians, who were more

[3] These would have been exiles from the revolutionary republican and democratic movements in Europe, beginning in France and Germany in 1848 and spreading throughout Europe.

familiar with the central and northern European people, such as Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Italy[4] and France, whom they considered as being similar to themselves but who were not keen to migrate to Australia (Collins, 1991, p.54). Being a distinctly unique group of people[5], different in so many ways to the still very British Australians, the DPs and their families were not welcomed as they might have been had there been communities of their own ethnicities and cultures already resident in Australia to smooth their path in the new land, as it was for the Polish DPs who migrated to the US post-WWII (Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 2001). The Germans, Italians, Chinese, though small in number, had historical links from the 19th Century and already had associations in Australia, including Perth, Western Australia (WA)[6] (http://heritageperth.com.au). Germans and Silesians in South Australia have settlements dating back to the beginning of that colony (Jupp, 1998). Baldassar (2004) points out that: "Italian migrants established a presence in the state (WA) that would facilitate the eventual success of the post-war arrivals". However, the DPs and their families had no such support systems until they were able to build their own clubs, which the Polish began in 1950 and the Germans in 1958.

Statement of the issue

The need for this study is clear due to the dearth of research available about the DPs, particularly 2nd generation DPs. Most research to date on non-British migrants in general, from the 1950s to 1970s, has focussed on the 1st generation (Appleyard, 1955; Borrie, 1994; Colic Peisker, 2003; Collins, 1991; Johnson, 1962, 1965, 1979; Jupp, 1992, 1996, 1998; Markus & Taft, M.,, 2015; Martin, 1965, 1972, 1978, 1981a, 1981b; Peters, 2001; Taft, R.,1961, 1965; Yiannakis,,2009, 2015; Zubrycki, 1960, 1964). Yet, while researchers have attempted to address the issue of DP families in Australia and the many difficulties they had overcome both in Europe and Australia, there is still much to be understood about this seminal period of Australian

[4] Collins (1991, p.209) also describes the prejudice against migrant Italians, most of whom were unassisted chain migrants post-WWII.

[5] While the DPs were a distinct group, there was also a great diversity of nationalities, languages and cultures within this intake. However, they were seen by Australians, most of whom knew little about Eastern Europe, as being mono-cultural, monolingual, and mono-ethnic.

[6] The Chung Wah association in Perth, Western Australia, was formed in 1909 to show solidarity against the tide of anti-Chinese sentiment in the Australian community. The German-speaking Rhein-Donnau Club was not formed in Perth until 1958, though there were many German – and Polish - associations in South Australia from the 1840s, early in the establishment of that colony. There were many Italian communities in Western Australia which had developed from early in the 20th Century. According to the West Australian Government Immigration Act they had to be sponsored, so they already had community when they arrived.

migration, not only about the DPs but especially their children, and perhaps also grandchildren. Persian (2011; 2012) points out that representations of DPs in literature present this group as "a problem" rather than considering their many achievements within extremely challenging situations. Martin (1978) too, pointed out that DPs were seen as problems, as were migrant children when they under-performed at school (p.89).

However, as already stated, the presence of the 2nd generation during the DP migration process has largely been ignored, possibly considered as irrelevant. While Persian (2011) has devoted a good part of her Doctoral thesis on the representation of DPs in Australia to her 2nd generation interviewees, she is one of the few to do so for this very under-researched group of people.

The neglect by researchers of this unique, ethnically and culturally important group of migrants and their children creates another gap in all Australians' understanding of their non-British history – and thus their Australian identities. More importantly, the scarcity of research about both 1st and 2nd generation DPs has resulted in a low level of understanding in Australia of the factual, not assumed, experiences of the 2nd generation DPs, who essentially were the first in their families to make meaningful contacts with Australians through school and in the public arena.

So what was the status of DP children *initially* within the schools and public arena? Were they, like their parents, also seen as problems? In some respects, yes, they were. In the early days of their schooling, especially for the child migrants, DP and other non-English speaking background (NESB) migrant children were considered a nuisance by the education system, until they learned to speak functional English and then perform at school. When the DP children performed well, educational authorities gave the credit to the teachers and other students for being supportive. When they did not perform well, the blame was placed firmly upon the DP parents or the children themselves for "lacking ability" or being "problem children who did not 'fit in'" (Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, 1960; Martin, 1978). The 2nd generation DPs were to some extent the victims of a bureaucracy that did not have the resources or the knowledge to deal with them. By the time steps had been taken to correct this situation, particularly given the continuous immigration of non-English speaking migrants, such as the Italians who eventually became the largest non-British migrant group, it was too late for the 2nd generation DPs to benefit by these changes.

However, overall, the 2nd generation, both DPs and other migrants, were mainly disregarded not only by researchers but Australian authorities, and also Australians. In one way this was positive as they were not seen as problematic, except by educational authorities, as it was expected that after the first few years they would blend in and become "Australianised". The negative aspect of this disregard was that there was no acknowledgement of the singularity of their experiences, meaning that their families did not get the assistance they required to settle; nor did they (the 2nd generation DPs) receive the type of attention they required to assist them in their education and development (Martin, 1978; Peters, 2001), .Apart from when a family member died and was buried, it was as if they had never been part of the Australian landscape; nor was their presence historically recorded as "having been there" at the places that they and their parents lived and worked.

A 2nd generation DP, who had been through the Cowra camp, expressed how this felt:

> Except for what memory recalls there is nothing to commemorate our arrival
>
> no plaques, no names carved on trees,
>
> nothing officially recorded
>
> of parents and children that lived beside
>
> the dome-shaped, khaki coloured hills
>
> and the red-dust road that ran between Parkes and Sydney.
>
> (Peter Skryznecki, extract from poem titled *Migrant Hostel: Parkes, 1949-1951*, cited in Persian, 2011, p.27)

Aim and scope

The aim of this research is to explore the early migration experiences of the second generation displaced persons of post-World War Two in Australia, specifically, those of German and/or Polish background now living in Western Australia. This study is not carried out as a historical study, but as an exploration of the past experiences of this cohort. For this reason, events related by members of this cohort, are viewed as being important from a personal view rather than as any unofficial historical record. Nor is it a longitudinal study, as it was undertaken many years after the events which

were related by the interviewees, so can be regarded as more of a "snapshot" of these events.

As this was exploratory research, I had few expectations as to what I would find but, judging from my own experiences, thought that assimilation would be of importance for this generation, and that perhaps this would affect how they identified themselves ethnically and culturally. With these minimal assumptions in mind, the grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Morse, 2003) was ideal for eliciting any other factors of importance to my particular cohort of 2nd generation DPs. While conclusions have been reached about the experience of this cohort, it is important to add that they will not necessarily apply to all 2nd generation DPs. Even within this cohort there are differing experiences in the areas which have been identified as significant. Moreover, this is not a comparative study of DPs (first and second generation) versus other types of migrants or refugee populations in Australia, even though some comparisons may show up in the data.

Significance of the study

The significance of this study is that it takes its information from 2nd generation DPs many years after their families arrived in Australia. By eliciting from the cohort their memories and so encouraging them to look upon their experiences from a "bird's eye view" it has provided a unique perspective of the challenges of children growing up in isolation; socially, geographically, and even within their own families. More importantly, it gives a picture of how some of this cohort coped with surviving in a family in which one or both parents had been war-affected and traumatised.

This study will be of interest to the fields of: international mobility; family therapy; child psychology; trauma studies; and policy formation regarding refugee families, including refugee resettlement. It highlights not so much the strategies of survival but makes the point that for children from marginalised families and families with traumatised parents, there may be a need to survive and develop the skills of resilience which, paradoxically, many of this cohort appear to have learnt or absorbed from observing their parents. It also debunks some of the myths about the ease of assimilation of the 2nd generation DP/refugees and, by association, 2nd generation migrants. Given the current situation in Australian migration policy, with refugees/asylum seekers being isolated from family of origin and confined to detention centres, it should also be used to compare and examine how the effects upon my cohort of isolation and discrimination aligns with the current situation of

refugee families /asylum seekers who are isolated from *their* families and often confined to prison-like detention centres.

Historically, this study is only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to understanding the history and the effects of government policy on migrants and refugees. It is, therefore, not only for the people from these backgrounds to be acknowledged but has the potential to be an extremely important and fascinating part of Australia's social history, opening up an area that has remained so far underexplored.

Overview

This thesis consists of 6 chapters. **Chapter 1, Literature Review**, discusses the theoretical aspects in the fields of migration and refugee studies, followed by literature relating specifically to DPs and 2nd generation DPs. As this is not a comparative study of migrant groups, reviews of literature relating to voluntary migration to Australia post-WWII are not included as I wish to keep the focus firmly upon the 2nd generation DPs and the DP context. The literature review then moves on into the thematic contexts of: assimilation; social capital; and resilience, all of which represent emergent factors from the study.

Chapter 2 describes the **research methodology** of grounded theory which is used as well as the theoretical framework and rationale underpinning this approach. The research process is outlined fully before addressing issues related to using interviews as the primary data collection method. These include: memory of the interviewee, interviewer bias, and interviewer/interviewee relationship. Lastly, the ethical challenges of researching this cohort and how they are dealt with are explained in detail, and the perceived limitations of this study disclosed.

It is important to set the study in the temporal context in which the 2nd generation grew up as this is largely what my research was about; that is, their experiences as 2nd generation displaced persons growing up at the height of the assimilation policy and as members of refugee families. Therefore, **Chapter 3, Migration Background**, is important in understanding the context within which the 2nd generation DPs were born and grew up. As such, it necessarily focusses upon the migratory background of the DP families migrating from Europe and Africa through the IRO resettlement scheme, from both the DP and the Australian immigration policy point of view. The selection process, arrival and reception in Australia, plus occupational and economic factors, are outlined in this chapter. It demonstrates that the factors of immigration experienced by the 1st generation DPs were also experienced by the 2nd generation.

The final section of this chapter includes a section on mental health in the 1st generation as this was fundamental to the experiences of a number of my interviewees.

The results of the interviews and focus groups are provided at length in **Chapter 4, Results and Analysis**, beginning with a description of the cohort, followed by chapter sections commencing chronologically with 'Earliest memories' and 'Camp Europe to Camp Australia' then moving through the topics of education and employment, traditions, family culture, and finally resilience and adaptability. The first sections focus on the 2nd generation interviewees who have memories of pre-migration in Europe and Africa, their migration to Australia and their first impressions on arrival. The section titled 'The Early Years' encompasses the experiences of all members of the cohort, their experiences within the migrant and Australian communities, and their experiences while growing up in often isolated regions. I also discuss family separation and the effect of this on the children and other family members and of living in families where one or more parents were still affected by their past traumas of WWII, and perhaps also the traumas associated with migration and subsequent isolation.

The outcomes of the early years are discussed and demonstrated in the chapter sections where I discuss the markers of belonging and how the parental culture and language are retained or put aside as interviewees assimilated or integrated into the Australian society. The sections on family culture and dynamics are important in this study in regard to the power dynamics in families, responsibility, and the secrets and silences which became ingrained in some families in order to safeguard different family members.

Chapter 5, Discussion, examines the study results in relation to 2nd generation access to social, economic and cultural capital as well as the issue of resilience, adaptability, and survival. Finally, the experiences of the cohort are brought together in the frameworks of their experiences as children leading 'parallel lives', and the family responsibilities that have re-emerged as their parents have aged, in what I have called the 'Circle of Protection'.

Finally, **Chapter 6, Conclusion**, provides a summary and an overview of the main points which emerge from this research and their relevance. Recommendations are then made for future and follow-up research.

Chapter 1: Literature review

Research objective

The objective of this thesis is to explore early migration experiences and their effects upon the 2nd generation DPs post-WWII who are now living in Western Australia. A distinctive study focus is on people of Polish and/or German ethnic backgrounds whose parents migrated to Australia through the IRO resettlement scheme, operating between the years 1947-1952.

My intention on commencing this literature review is to find out what literature and research are available within the field in which I am intending to launch my investigation. In an endeavour to locate my research within the theoretical frameworks of migration and refugee studies, I initially search for and cover literature relating to theoretical aspects of these fields. I then review literature specific to Australian immigration, including that relating to the DPs post-WWII in Australia. Finally, I search for literature specific to 2nd generation DPs or migrants in Australia. The results of my literature review relating to 2nd generation DPs drive the methodology for this study, which is discussed in Chapter Three. For clarification and to provide context, I begin my review with a discussion of the differences between migrants, displaced persons, and refugees.

Migrants, Refugees, and Displaced Persons

Castles and Miller (1998) state that:

> International migration is hardly ever a simple individual action in which a person decides to move in search of better life-chances, pulls up his or her roots in the place of origin and quickly becomes assimilated in the new country. Much more often migration and settlement is a long-drawn-out process, which will be played out for the rest of the migrant's life, and affect subsequent generations too (p.19).

The migratory process above applies to all migrants. However, the major differences between migrants and refugees relate to their ability to choose freely and the options

available to each. Unlike the migrant, the refugee has limited power over his or her own destiny, especially regarding place of refuge and resettlement (Castles, 2010; Kunz, 1973. Refugees' experiences are characterised by fear, trauma, and tragedy, time spent in refugee camps, separation from family and friends, dispossession of material and non-material past, irrevocable break with their homeland with the inability to return, and an uncertain future in which they are not sure where they are going to end up (Collins, 1991, p.49).

> Not only are the motives behind the refugees' initial step different from the 'push' which sends the voluntary migrants overseas, but, unlike the voluntary migrant, refugees choose the new land in preference to a country of asylum in which they are no longer tolerated or no longer able to live." (Kunz, E., 1973, pp.22-24).

Kunz (1973) describes the process of refugee resettlement as the "push-pressure-plunge" model of migration, which is explained in more detail in the following section in this chapter, titled *Refugee theory*.

The distinction between a refugee and displaced person is less clear-cut. Proudfoot (1956) describes a Displaced Person as:

> a person who, as a result of the actions of the authorities of the regimes mentioned (Nazi and other fascist) has been deported from, or has been obliged to leave his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, such as persons who were compelled to undertake forced labour or who were deported for racial, religious or political reasons (Proudfoot, 1956, p.402).

This definition simply points out that a DP, for a number of reasons, has been displaced from his or her country of nationality. Therefore, a person can be a DP but not a refugee, as they may still be able to return to their homes once conflict has ended, unlike the refugee who is unable or feels unable to do so.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees' (UNHCR) definition of a refugee, formulated in 1947 was:[7]:

> Any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." (Minority Rights Group, no. 43., Refugees, p.7 cited in Collins, 1991, pp.47-48)

This definition of refugee, formulated following the Second World War, related specifically to those affected by the war in Europe. There is some confusion, therefore, when using the term "displaced persons" or "DPs" to describe the refugees who migrated to Australia during 1947-1952 through the IRO scheme. While this term is correct in that they were, during WWII, displaced from their homes, their situation post-war established them as political refugees and they were registered as such by the IRO (Persia, 2011, p.34) Yet, the refugees who were resettled in "migrant" countries such as Australia, the USA, and Argentina, for example, were referred to interchangeably by researchers (Appleyard, 1955; Jupp, 1994; Kunz, 1988; Murphy, 1952) and also in US and Canadian literature as Displaced Persons or DPs (Gilmour, 2009; Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 2001, 2004; Kirchmann, 1997; Perlikowski, 2007). Martin (1965) refers to them as both refugees and DPs, as, for example, in her book title: *Refugee settlers: A study of displaced persons in Australia*.

Therefore, as Displaced Person (DP) is the commonly used term for people displaced during and after the Second World War, and resettled internationally through the IRO, it shall be used interchangeably in this thesis with the term "refugee" when

[7] This definition was developed specific to the refugees of WWII and related mainly to Holocaust survivors and those affected by the Nazi regime, such as POWs, forced labour and slave labour, who were unable to be repatriated due to political changes in their countries of origin (see Proudfoot, 1956, above) It does not entirely reflect the current international refugee situation as it does not allow for internal refugees or environmental refugees.

discussing the DPs/refugees who came to Australia. The children of these refugee/DP migrants are described as 2nd generation DPs.

Migration theory

The literature on migration theory is confusing and inconclusive in the theoretical domain. There is common agreement that: "At present, there is no single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries" (Massey et al, 1993, p.432).

The field of migration is broad and among the many reasons why there are so many different theories developed in isolation, as described by Massey above, are the factors of: diversity within migration and migratory processes; the interdisciplinary nature of a growing field; different approaches to understanding migration, such as the causes and patterns of migration; politicisation of migration; a focus on receiving rather than countries of origin; isolation within the social sciences; and the complex nature of the field (Castles, 2010, pp.1569-1574; Gamlen 1997, p.108).

The multidisciplinary fields within which migration theorists have endeavoured to find an overall theoretical structure include the social, political, economic, historical, demographic and geographic (Bakewell, 2010; Black, 1991, 2001; Massey et al, 1993; Van Hear, 2012; Richmond, 1988). Massey (1993) argues that this multidisciplinary nature of migration and the current complexity of the migratory process "requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumptions" (p.432). Bakewell (2010) and Castles (2010) also advocate for a universal theory of migration, recognising that "migration is a universal human experience, and that it appears to occur according to observable (but shifting) patterns across space, time and societies…" (Bakewell, 2010, p.810), though it is not clear what those shifting patterns relate to.

Castles and Miller (1998) provide a comprehensive outline of three main historical approaches in migration theory, which I consider as potential frameworks for my study: *neo-classical economic equilibrium; historical-structuralist*; and *migration systems theory* (pp.20-23). The authors describe the *neo-classical* approach as types of "push-pull" theories. The "push-pull" theory is one of the earlier theories of migration and is based upon cause and effect. That is, to encourage migration, there

must be a 'push' factor in the country of origin or residence, such as a declining economy or desire for a better lifestyle *as well as* a 'pull' factor from the country of resettlement, such as better opportunities for career and a willingness to accept newcomers.

Kunz, (1973), discusses at length the variations on the traditional push-pull theories. In the context of Australian DPs, push-pull theory only partially describes the motivation for migration of the families in my cohort, as it does not take into account that their migration may have come about due to other causes; such as the fear of persecution or wanting to distance themselves from their war-time experiences. However, it does apply to voluntary migrants, such as the Italians post-WWII, who mainly self-funded their migrations to Australia in search of employment and to increase their level of wealth; the Dutch, who were pushed out of their country for economic reasons, and the Germans, who answered the call by the Australian government to provide their technical expertise (Collins, 1991; Peters, 2001).

Neo-classical theories have traditionally been used by demographers, geographers and economists. Castles and Miller (1998) do not link the neo-classical theories to social sciences or humanities areas such as history, ethnography or political science, though there is no reason why they should not be used in these fields. However, these theories are economically based and utilitarian in nature, being founded upon the assumption that migration is a personal and rational choice so, while it applies to the voluntary migrant, it is not a good fit for the cohort in this study, who came from DP/refugee families.

The *historical-structural* approach, despite its title, is economically and politically based upon the Marxist idea of class inequalities. That is, labourers from less developed countries feed the labour demand of the developed countries which are resource rich but labour poor, thus reinforcing the power imbalance between the developed and Third World countries (Castles & Miller, 1998, p.22). This theory, therefore, presents workers as having less choice in their migration pattern as it is led by the availability of work in both their own homes and in other countries, forcing some to migrate in order to find work. This is probably the most commonly recorded type of migration throughout history when considering the flow of migration from countries such as Italy and Poland to the US during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries and later the Turkish and Southern European Gastarbeitern (immigrant workers) to Germany post-WWII (Castles & Miller, 1998).

The flaw in this theory in relation to the DPs in Australia is that it relies solely upon the premise of demand and supply of labour as a reason for migration. While it is true that post-WWII mass migrations from Europe to Australia were for the purposes of providing labour for immigrants, at that time Australia was not considered to be a resource rich nation, despite the self-promotion of being a "land of milk and honey" (Peters, 2001). As with the neo-classical and other migration theories, the families of my cohort did not fit this theory of migration as they were political refugees rather than free migrants, despite the fact that they were attracted by the promise of employment and security. Australia was one of the post-war nations which offered permanent settlement to refugees, as it did to other migrants (Castles and Millar, 1998, p.189).

A more recent theory replacing the two previous push-pull theories is the *systems migration theory*, which assumes a pre-existing link between the sending and receiving countries (Castles & Miller, 1998, pp.24-25). The authors state that migration in this instance is based upon: "colonisation, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties" (p.24). While this theory could certainly apply to Australia in regard to its British connection, it does not fit the multicultural migrant intake commencing in the 1950s, where there were no previous ties to Australia, colonial or otherwise. Neither does it apply to the current humanitarian refugees from the Middle East and Africa who have been differentiated in Australia according to their (Islamic) culture and religious beliefs.

The *main motivations* cited for migration are: voluntary migration to seek a better quality of life or opportunities; family reunion; transient migration, for example in industry; returnees to country of origin; and refugees (Nesdale, Smith, & Rooney, 1997, p.569). There are, in the literature, a number of binary divisions within migration theory which include: gender; forced and voluntary migration; internal and international migration; transnationalism and integration; and the inception and perpetuation of migration (Lutz, 2010; van Hear, 2012; King & Skeldon, 2010; Castle, 2010; Portes, 2010). While this study has not focussed upon gender or transnationalism, it does address forced and international migration as a single entity. That is, this cohort was the result of forced international migration.

Other theories of migration, such as those based upon Gidden's structuration theory[8,] focus upon the effect that migration has on both the receiving society (structure) and the migrants (agency) rather than motivation (Bakewell, 2010; Gauntlett, 2002; Wolfel, 2005). As such, this is probably more closely aligned with Portes' (2010) ideas of migration as being a transformative process for both countries of origin and receiving countries. He asserts that: "Migration is, of course, change and it can lead, in turn, to further transformations in sending and receiving societies" (p.1544).

Castles (2010) also states that "a general theory of migration is neither possible nor desirable, but … we can make significant progress by re-embedding migration research in a more general understanding of contemporary society, and linking it to broader theories of social change across a range of social scientific disciplines" (p.1565). What both authors are saying is that the migrant changes the social structure in the receiving country by his or her presence, through their culture and use of facilities, while at the same time absorbing the culture and other aspects of the receiving nation. The more contemporary theory of "transnationalism", that is, where the migrant maintains links and agency in both the country of origin and the country of resettlement (Baldassar, 2000; Hugo, 2014; Portes, 1999; Vertovec, 2010), is another "social transformation" theory as the maintaining of social, economic, and cultural links has an effect on both receiving and accepting societies.

The idea of transnationalism is an interesting one, and has been debated since the 1990s by migration theorists. However, this theory has no resemblance to the type of migration of Australian DPs. While there has always, for migrants, been the capacity for contact and, depending upon finances, perhaps visits with family and friends in the country of origin, this was not possible for the DPs. Their families were behind the Iron Curtain for many years after the War. Indeed, many DPs had no contact with any family post-war and did not know which family members or friends had survived the war. Even so, the advent of increased communication via electronic media has now greatly enhanced the capacity of migrants to maintain a presence in more than

[8] One of the main propositions of structuration theory is that "the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction (the duality of structure) (Gidden, 1984, p19). That is, the "agent", or actor, reproduces the social structure, or system, within which he or she is situated, but in the event that the agent ignores the social structure, replaces it, or reproduces the structure in a different way, then it will cause change to that structure (Gauntlett, 2002). It therefore, regards the migratory process as interactive.

one nation and it will be interesting to see the effect of this on the second generation migrants of the future as well as the present.

Due to the rigid application of the assimilation policy, prevalent when DPs, and other migrants, first arrived in Australia and in effect for some years after, social transformation in Australia for DPs and DP families was limited, as they were, in the main, isolated from the host population for the first two years of resettlement. Additionally, 2nd generation DPs who assimilated supported the status quo rather than changing it. The important work of the DPs in building and reinforcing essential infrastructure in Australia was to some extent hidden as it took place, in many cases, outside the metropolitan area and at great distances from other habitation. The theory may be more applicable to the assisted European migrants who came following the period of DP resettlement as they, particularly the Italian migrants, were a larger immigrant intake from the 1950s onward than the DPs had been, and openly continued with their ethnic languages and cultural practices in spite of pressure to assimilate. Collins (1991) when talking about the distress pressure to assimilate caused migrants, stated that, “Italians and Greeks may have found some respite from their indifferent (Australian) neighbours in their own established ethnic communities” (p.210).

Given the theories above, it was difficult to find a theory of migration which related to both Displaced Persons/refugees and the second generation. This was mainly because, as Bakewell (2010) states, many theories are based upon the belief that migrants have choices, something which is evident from the neo classical approaches that Castles and Miller (1998) have outlined and found wanting. It was evident that there was a distinct gap in migration theory, with refugee theory as a small fragment of an already multifaceted field of migration research. Refugees, however, as forced migrants, are generally excluded from migration theory, something which van Hear (2012) also noted in his summary of migration theory articles (p.1535).With this in mind, I therefore separately review literature specific to refugee theory and second generation migrants/displaced persons in order to find insights for understanding their experiences.

Refugee theory

Surprisingly, there is a vast amount of literature about refugees and refugee movements, particularly since the latter half of the 20th Century. The bulk of literature relating to refugee theory emanates from the US and United Kingdom (UK) (Black, 1991, 2001; Boothby, 1992; Crisp, 2003; Holborn, 1975; Richmond, 1988; Skran and Daughtry, 2007; Woodcock, 2000). Literature from Australia comes mainly from a handful of well-known migration theorists, (Castles, 1998; Johnston, 1962, 1965; Jupp, 1992, 1994. 1998; Kunz, 1973; Martin, 1965) and is split into the different themes of either "refugee" or "DP" literature. The theoretical literature related to "refugees" while that specific to Australia's post-WWII refugees was carried out through the lenses of "Displaced Persons" (DPs). However, this literature mainly focusses upon demographic studies (Appleyard, 1955; Borrie, 1959; Lack & Templeton, 1995; Price, 1985, 2000a, 2000b; Zubrzycki, 1960, 1964).

There is, especially, a scarcity of research and analysis regarding both the DPs of the Post-WWII period and the 2nd generation DPs. I found no specific theory relating to families affected by war and their relocation pathway, apart from literature comparing voluntary and forced migration. In particular, I could find no theoretical perspectives which included the second generation within the migratory pathway or the long-term effects of secondary, that is, "plunge" migration (Kunz, 1973) upon children of displaced parents. The primary focus of refugee literature appeared to be based upon issues such as the definition and meaning of "who is a refugee" and causes of refugee movements, in the quest to developing theory.

It is true that the issue of refugee studies and theoretical development is complicated. Perhaps this stems from the initial definition of a refugee, which was carefully constructed by the UNHCR to suit the post-WWII political context in Europe. The refugees it applied to were political refugees, that is, Eastern Europeans, who were escaping "actual or feared persecution" from fascist and communist regimes (Crisp, 2003, p.76) and this has been the main criteria for assessing refugee status since.

Crisp, however, points out how the type of refugee has changed since the 1950s and cites three ways in which this applies. Firstly, between 1995 and 2002 there was a decline in the global refugee population, coupled with an escalation in the numbers of people displaced within their own borders by war, persecution and violence, and mainly in Africa (Crisp, 2003, p.75). Secondly, while the post-WWII refugees were fleeing across international borders from political regimes, as stated above, the more

recent refugees have been displaced due to political persecution and their minority status in their own nations. This is the case created by the current Syrian civil war resulting in over 4.5 million refugees over the last 5 years. These refugees are now seeking sanctuary in neighbouring countries which are struggling to cope with the influx (http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php). Thirdly, displacement is now a weapon of war, with governments removing political dissidents or groups they perceive as political risks and replacing populations with their own people in other lands (Crisp, 2003, p.76).

This strategy of replacing an indigenous ethnic population with a foreign ethnic population to gain control of territory also took place during WWII, with the Nazi government removing Poles from their homes and businesses and replacing them with ethnic Germans. Many of the people whom I interviewed for this study were born of parents, both ethnic German and Polish, who were affected by this strategy. Their parents had either been taken during the war, often forcibly, to Germany as labour or had been moved to another location to replace local Poles. More recently, China has also used this strategy in Tibet, which has been referred to as "urbanicide", that is, "the extinguishing of Tibetan culture and identity through an influx of millions of Chinese migrants in Tibet". (Dorjee, 2017).

Mass displacement of populations due to environmental disasters caused by climate change relates to environmental migration theory which, though not greatly discussed in the literature reviewed, is also re-emerging, though in a different context. Piguet (2013) talks about the pendulum swing away from the environment as a cause of migration in migration theory during the 20th Century and its return at the end of that century as environmental displacement emerges as a significant factor in moving populations. Williams (2004) discusses the legal challenges internationally and regionally of protecting environmental refugees, who have been affected by climate change. Her statement is:

> Despite mounting data to indicate otherwise, the Australian government maintained that there was no evidence to suggest Pacific island populations were in any imminent danger of being displaced by rising sea levels…(this) demonstrates the difficulty of protecting refugees and displaced persons who

> do not come under the UNHCR definition of refugee and is an area which must soon be addressed (p.515).

The High Court of Australia has now ruled that the term "well-founded fear" (of persecution) which defined a refugee has both a *subjective* and an *objective* element (HCA, 1989 62:16 in Vrachnas, Boyd, Bagaric, & Dimopoulos, 2008). That is, that the fear that the refugee applicant suffers is subjective and there may not be evidence of the cause of this fear. For example, the applicant may have stated they have a fear of returning to their country of origin due to persecution, yet make regular visits to that country (p.253).

The objective element is based on evidence of a cause of fear even if the chance of actual persecution is statistically small, as long as the fear is genuine and is based on evidence of potential acts of persecution (Vrachnas, Boyd, Bagaric, & Dimopoulos, 2008). Vrachnas et al. (2008) cite the case of Chan v MIEA (1989) contesting the current policy, which states that, for a refugee application to be successful, there must be both objective and subjective elements present. However, in the above case, Vrachnas et al (2008) considered this was not a suitable measure of eligibility for refugee status as it does not allow for children and the mentally disabled (p.254-5). Additionally, if circumstances change and it is considered that there is no longer a threat of persecution, refugee applications can be withdrawn (p.256).

Skran and Daughtry (2007) in their article *The study of refugees before "Refugee Studies*", outlining the progress of refugee research and associated theory between 1920 to 1980, emphasise the complexity of refugee studies due to the multidisciplinary nature of this research which includes: international relations and law; economics; demography; geography; psychology; and history. However, they also point out that the trend has always been that the most researched refugees are those who benefited from major international aid (p.16).

Black's (2001) literature review *Fifty years of refugee studies* finds the link between refugee research and policy as both a strength and weakness for refugee theoretical development (p.67). Black (2001) states that policy formed from empirical investigation can detract from the academic grounding of the research and isolate refugee research from other social sciences. Additionally, he points out the potential for the research to be used for political purposes or co-opted by agencies to then become ineffective (p.67). Black (2001) traces the history of refugee research from

its initial focus on trying to "fix" the refugee problem as far back as 1939, to its evolution toward awareness of refugee experiences and issues of adaptation (p.58). He outlines the expansion of refugee research and literature in many different areas as well as the growth of refugee studies in institutions, such as the UNHCR and the Oxford Refugee Studies Program.

The core problem of defining "refugee" is central as there are now many types of forced migrants, as for example the newly-emergent category of environmental refugees. Castles (2010) believes the new categories of refugees and displaced persons will expand even further this area of research and is sceptical of the motivation for doing this, thinking it may relate to policy-making (p.64) Additionally, Skran and Daughtry (2007) make a distinction between "classical" (European) refugees and "new" refugees from Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin American (p.16).

Kunz's article *The refugee in flight: Kinetic models and forms of Displacement* (1973), explains the dynamics which differentiate a migrant from a refugee. He proposes a "kinetic model" to explain refugee flight, which he describes as either "anticipatory", or "acute" (pp.131-132). The *anticipatory* refugee makes an informed decision to flee the family home before a worsening political or military situation prevents escape. In this regard, the anticipatory refugee is similar to a voluntary migrant in that they are able to prepare ahead in anticipation of resettlement and, for the anticipatory refugee, opportunity for departure. The difference is that, unlike the voluntary migrant, the anticipatory refugee is limited in settlement choices, depending on which other nation will admit them.

This was a situation common for Jewish refugees pre-World War Two. Even though the European community were aware of the increasing persecution of Jewish people, in Eastern Europe in particular, Jewish refugees were not made welcome by other nations in Europe and only a lukewarm offer to take these anticipatory refugees pre-war was made by Australia and other Allied countries (Pearl,1983; Rutland, 2005). Post-war Jewish refugees were sponsored by friends in Australia or supported by Jewish organisations though, due to immigration restrictions based upon wealth on arrival, these were mainly the wealthier and better educated (Kunz, 1988, p.8). Most Jewish refugees arrived between1936-1940 then others 1945-1947 and were not really part of the IRO program. However, they were still subject to what Kunz (1973)

calls the “push-permit” model of migration (p.132). That is, the push to leave their first place of refuge is stronger than the restricted choice of resettlement.

The *acute* refugee, on the other hand, is unprepared for flight or resettlement and flees in response to a perilous situation (Kunz, 1973, p.132). There is limited opportunity, if any, to choose the method of departure or place of refuge. There is no similarity with voluntary migrants in that the push is extreme and there is no immediate pull factor.

Nyers (2006) says that the term “refugee” is framed in the context of emergency, immediacy, and as a problem to be solved (p.6). He adds: “Refugees are represented as a mishap, an accident that scars the moral and political landscapes of the international order” (p.9). The refugees (DPs) who migrated to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South America and the USA were a more complicated case, not really accounted for in any of the theories of refugee/migrant movements. First of all, many of the Eastern European DPs post-world War Two did not flee their homes but were taken to other parts of Europe, that is, Germany and Russia, as forced and slave labour. Therefore, although initially they could be described as displaced persons, their refugee status arose from the political (Cold War) situation post-conflict leaving them stranded in different parts of Europe, mainly Germany, where the Allies had set up their occupation zones. Secondly, they differed from other assisted passage voluntary immigrants to Australia and other IRO receiving countries, as they were not emigrating due to “push-pull” factors, which implies a choice, but to “push-pressure-plunge” factors in which the displaced person is pushed out of the country of origin to take refuge in a temporary safe zone from where they are pressured to move on (Kunz, 1973, 1988).

Kunz describes the “push-pressure-plunge” model (Kunz, 1973, p.134) as a situation where, after a certain time in the place of refuge, a further push is exerted when the refugee feels no longer welcome in their country of asylum but also realises that they are still unable to return to their homeland. As Kunz states:

> At this stage the refugee still does not look forward, but already knows that the doors are closed behind him. His main preoccupation is therefore the redefinition of his relation towards his country of birth, family and friends.

> He is taking the first step that will change him from a temporary refugee into an exile (Kunz, 1973, p.133).

The "push" is done in various ways, such as denying benefits, or assisting with emigration from the country of asylum. The IRO resettlement scheme through which refugees were taken to Australia and other receiving countries is an example of the latter approach. After WWII the resettlement approach was successful because, as Kunz points out, the pressure becomes such that the refugee feels forced to settle overseas even though the pull factor is weak or absent, and therefore the choice of ongoing migration is forced and not an entirely free choice due to the limited availability and restrictive criteria of accepting nations.

The "pull" factor for the refugees who resettled in Australia was persuasive due to the nation's need for immigrant labour and population increase, but the "push", which was the fear of being repatriated to their Soviet occupied homes and the potential repercussions was even stronger. Ironically, the current situation in the Middle East reflects that of post-WWII, as does that in Afghanistan and Iraq. As a result of war in the region, refugees have crossed borders in search of asylum. Yet, once they reach this place of asylum, they are encouraged (or pushed) to move on to other countries who are willing to take them as migrants.

In refugee theory, the categorisation of refugees is even more complex than that of "normal" migrant. The title "refugee" has come to encompass many different types of flight to refuge or for safe haven, including internal refugee movements, and for different reasons. As with migration theory, there are now a number of theories within a wide multidisciplinary area. What is required as a framework for my research, and for which there is none, although Castles' (2010) and Portes' (2010) transformation theories come close, is a refugee theory which is specific to refugees who have been forced out of their countries through regional conflict, as in World War Two Europe, and where, due to constantly changing borders and political allegiances between the main actors, there is no safe haven, only *safer* locations. The theories also fail to incorporate the family effect, especially for the second generation, of being refugee. Additionally, though Kunz's (1973) kinetic model of migration fits the 1st generation DPs it cannot be applied to the second generation, who had no input into their migration outcomes.

Until the 1960s refugee research in Australia focused on traditional refugees, primarily Eastern Europeans, who were products of the Cold War. More recently, Summers (2004) examined adaptive strategies of Yugoslav refugees in Australia; Popenhagen (2012), a 2nd generation Lithuanian-Australian published a history of Australian Lithuanians; and Drozdzewski (2007, 2011) has researched the maintenance of Polish culture in Australia, comparing the post-WWII DPs to the political/economic Polish refugees of the 1970s and 80s. Refugee literature relating to the post-war and later the Indochinese refugees was soon overtaken by research on other types of migrations. For example, in Australia, post war studies include Appleyard's research on English migrants (Appleyard, 1964); Greek migrants in Australia (Appleyard & Yiannakis, 2002), and a 40 year longitudinal study on Greek women who migrated to Australia in the 1960s (Appleyard, Amera & Yiannakis, 2015). More recent studies, from the late 20th Century to the present, focused upon other European ethnicities, for example, Baldassar (1997; 2001; 2004), Borrie (1954), Castles (1991), Iuliano (2010); Vasta (1992, 1995) all carried out research with Italian migrant cohorts; Colic-Peisker (2003) with Bosnian migrants; and Peters, (2000; 2006; 2008) focussed on Dutch migration. Melnyczuk Morgan (2010) explored, in her Doctoral thesis, the painful memories of post-WWII Australian Ukraines in relation to the *Polodomor*, the Russian-induced famine in the Ukraine preceding WWII, but not specifically related to their DP population experiences. Longley (2005) also writes about the stories told by her Ukrainian DP parents and the importance of this storytelling as an "identity anchor" as well as the "bridge" between the new and old generation (p.88).

Autobiographies of 1st and 2nd generation Dutch migrants in Australia have been published by Houbein (1990), a 1st generation Dutch migrant and van Ravenstein (2010), whose family migrated while he was a young boy. More recent studies of the Greek-Australian post-WWII migrants have explored intergenerational issues (Tsianakis et al, 2015) and the effect upon the family when previously unspoken of traumatic events are revealed by parents (Dimitriou, 2015).

Following the Vietnam War (1955-1975) the Indo-Chinese refugees of the 1970s were the second large wave of refugees to Australia's shores. However, as their method of arrival, location of arrival and Australia's economic circumstances at that time differed from that of the post-WWII refugees and migrants in Australia, the literature on this group of refugees has not been reviewed in this study, even though

some studies of the 2nd generation in this group has "echoes" of the 2nd generation DPs in Australia, this literature will only be referenced if relevant to this particular cohort.

With so many other ethnic groups wanting to be acknowledged historically, the interest in the Polish DPs and their German spouses as well, never really came to fruition. Possibly a reason for the apparent lack of interest in this seminal group is that they were a finite group of settlers not only in Australia but in other parts of the world such as the USA, making this a largely under-researched area of refugee studies [9]. Though, having said this, there are publications in the US written by the families of Polish DPs and which portray quite a different picture of the attitude to Polish DP migration from that of DPs in Australia (Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 2001, 2004; Kirchmann, 2004; McGinley, 2003). This will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Effect of migration on families

The effect of growing up in a refugee (DP) family has not been well researched in people similar to my cohort, although there are individual stories relating to this topic in the public, rather than the academic, domain. Otherwise, in Australia, research on 2nd generation post-WWII refugees is mainly embedded within texts about the 1st generation.

There has been some debate about whether the act of migration and the adaptation to a different culture in the host country causes greater psychological distress than remaining in the country of origin (Nesdale, 1997, p.570). By host country I mean the country that accepts the migrants or refugees as settlers. Factors thought to affect adaptation are classified as pre-migratory and post-migratory. *Pre-migratory* factors include prior travel, language proficiency, socio-economic status; *post-migratory* factors include accommodation, employment, education, isolation, intercultural difficulties (Nesdale, 1997, p.570).

Scheffer (2011) states that: "Alienation and loss are key features of any description of the arrival of migrants in a strange environment" (p.4) and that "(t)he tensions that

[9] Interestingly, Migration Museums in Europe are now researching the Displaced Persons and other emigres who left Europe to settle abroad. My family was able to provide the emigration Museum in Bremerhaven, Germany, with documents and photographs for their exhibitions about Displaced Persons and Jewish Refugees, which were exhibited in 2013 and 2014.

arise from the difficulty of settling down in a new country are felt mainly within migrant families themselves. It's there that the gulf between newcomers and their adoptive societies is most keenly felt." (Scheffer, 2011, p.10). He also notes that alienation is a phase of the migratory process which lessens as the migrants integrate. Additionally, adaptation is different for first and second generations as the 1st generation have already been acculturated in their countries of origin whereas second generation adaptation problems arise during their personal development and so they cannot be helped by their parents.

Furthermore, Nesdale (1997) found that "... analysis suggests that the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem may be dependent on the level of acceptance accorded to the migrant group by members of the host culture" (p.584) and Scheffer (2011) states that:

> It's a story we hear all too often: families come under huge strain because of the father's loss of status. In many migrant families this results in an inverted form of intergenerational conflict. *Instead of children being dependent on their parents, the parents are in many ways dependent on their children* (my italics) (p.11).

As the above comments refer generally to migrants rather than refugees, it is worthwhile considering that if these are issues for migrants, who leave their countries voluntarily, have a real or perceived choice of resettlement locations, and presumably have established some pre-migratory network and plan of economic security, then how much more so must these issues affect refugee families who have none of these cushioning factors? This particularly affects the second generation who are often not part of the decision process and come to accept that, no matter where they are located, there is a good chance they will have to move on at a later time. Not many studies, if any, have explored these questions.

Second generation

While there is a vast amount of literature on the effect of migration on families, there is very little about the 2nd generation migrants and even less about 2nd generation DP/refugee children, specifically that of a historical nature exploring the long-term outcomes of their experiences. To complicate this further, there is ongoing debate on

the issue of how to classify the 2nd generation DPs who were born overseas. Discussion on this topic has highlighted the difficulties of a definition with some researchers even referring to 1.5 and 1.75 generations depending on age at migration (King, 2008; Rumbaut, 2004). However, I find it problematic from a humanities point of view to classify people fractionally based upon their age on migration[10]. In their longitudinal Project Muse study in the USA, the authors operationally define 2nd generation migrants as "children born in the United States with at least one foreign-born parent or children born abroad who had entered the United States by age 5" (Haller et al., 2011, p.739; Portes & Rumbaut, 2007, p.987). This, Portes and Rumbaut state: "corresponds to a broad operation definition of *second-generation* as native-born children of foreign parents or foreign-born children who were brought to the United States before adolescence" (p.987).

As regards, 2nd generation Australians, they are described by Johnston (1979) as "immigrant children – usually called second generation immigrants". The 2nd generation, in her comparative study of Polish and British child immigrants, were between the ages of 13-16, having migrated to Australia when approximately 3-7 years old (p.64). Peters (2000) in her interviews with Dutch-Australian women also groups together 2nd generation/child migrants. Taking his definitions of 2nd generation migrants from Clyne (1968), Harris (1976, p.10) refers to the 2nd generation as "those born in Australia of immigrant parents" and further differentiates *1b* migrants as: "those born overseas but who migrate to Australia before speech patterns in the language of their country of birth have become firmly established" which he states is usually around the age of 12. He then classifies *1a* migrants as "those born outside of Australia but who have fixed speech habits by the time of migration". Again, the age of 12 was the symbolic dividing line based upon language retention. While this does divide the 2nd generation into 3 groups, it does not numerically (quantifiably) do so.

However, due to their focus upon child migrants, few of the above definitions of 2nd generation migrant Australians wholly agree with the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) definition which simply classifies 2nd generation Australians as: "Australian-born people living in Australia, with at least one overseas-born parent" (ABS, 2012),

[10] I see this as similar to the way in which indigenous people in Australia were classified according to racial composition, for example, "full-blood", "half caste", etc., which serves to separate them as indigenous people as well as "de-humanising" by setting up hierarchical structures.

thereby not addressing the issue of nomenclature for, and excluding, very young child migrants. Nevertheless, it appears that, while there is a difference between child and Australian-born migrants, this is a matter of degree, based upon their pre-migration status and memory, which can also be linked with their individual childhood development stage, as this is when children are in their formative years (http://www.unicef.org/earlychildhood/index_40748.html).

Given that the child migrant is still in their formative years as well as a passive migrant, that is, they are a passenger of their family migration, and that they are still until adolescence forming their impressions and judgements of their world under the authority of their parents, it would, therefore, be logical to allude to both Australian and overseas-born migrants up to adolescence simply as 2nd generation Australians[11].

In a preliminary search of published material about both 2nd generation migrants and 2nd generation displaced persons/refugees I discovered that a significant amount of research in this area has been carried out in the United States of America by Portes and his colleagues (Haller, Portes & Lynch, 2011; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Hao, 1998; Portes and MacLeod, 1999; Portes and Hao, 2004; Portes, Fernandez-Keller, and Haller, 2005; Rumbaut, 2004, 2005). The focus of this research is second generation Latin-Americans in the US, exploring issues such as assimilation, education, language, and social capital. Longitudinal surveys were the source of much of this research which was mainly quantitatively analysed. Also in the US, there is also growing amount of research literature about second generation Holocaust survivors (Scharf & Mayseless, 2011; Shmotkin, Shrira, Goldberg & Palgi, 2011; Shrira, Palgi, Ben-Ezra & Shmotkin, 2011; Wachtel, 2002).

Australian studies on 2nd generation migrants examine the issues of place and belonging for this generation as well as those of assimilation and identity. Baldassar (2001) in her book *Visits Home*, explored the intersection and divide she experienced on her first visit to family in Italy between the culture that she inherited from her Italian family and her identity as an Australian. Harris (1976) in his thesis, an intergenerational study of Polish migrant families in Adelaide, investigated the interaction between the first and second generations as well as the continuance of

[11] That is, children from 0-12 years of age. Culturally, in Australia, children of 13 and over become adolescents, or teenagers. They have the political status of adult when they reach 18 years of age, which is when they have the right to vote.

culture and language in his cohort. Peters (2000) compared the issues of belonging and identity in both first and second generation Dutch migrant women, finding that the 1st generation constructed their identity and belonging from their past culture, while the 2nd generation derived theirs from both cultures (Peters, 2000, p54). Wajs in her 1984 conference paper titled "First generation Australians (second generation migrants) discover they are Poles", discussed issues of rediscovering ethnic identity and culture, similar to the Italian migrant studies by Baldassar (1997, 2001). Bernhardt (2013) also explored issues of German identity in 2nd generation German migrants. Siefen et al (1996) compared Greek, German and 2nd generation Greek adolescents and parental attitudes in a qualitative study in Germany. They found that "In a host environment, the family takes on additional importance as both a source and an object of behaviour" (p.838). Haikkola (2011), Baldassar (2000), and Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding (2007), discuss the effect of transnationalism on migrant families and the second generation's role in this process. Haikkola's (2011) study showed that children need to be guided in this role and in their interactions with cross-border family members and that "return" visits to the place of origin are important in forming bonds. Baldassar et al (2007), using Australian migrant families as an example, discuss the role of the 2nd generation caring for ageing parents, even at a distance and the way in which this is negotiated. Baldassar (1997) also on the subject of "home visits" to Italy by 1st and 2nd generation Australian-Italians presents her research in the framework of transnationalism, stating that: "Return visits are deeply embedded in issues of culture, family and homeland" and thus these visits become, for the 2nd generation, a "rite of passage" (p.71).

The above studies on 2nd generation migrants in Australia, Europe and the US are of great importance in the field of migration. However, apart from a handful of researchers in the 1960s and 1970s (Harris, 1976; Johnston, 1969, 1972a, 1972b, 1975, 1985; Taft, 1965; Taft and Johnston, 1967), there has been no significant research about 2nd generation DPs. It is only recently that they have been included in Australian DP research. For example, Persian (2011) discussed, in her thesis, representations of post-World War Two DPs and their families in Australia. She pointed out the increasing number of memoirs and autobiographies either by 2nd generation DPs or 2nd generation DPs who were assisting their parents to write their stories. However, Dellios' (2016) recent publication discusses the effect on DP families who were separated on settlement in Australia, an area of research which

has long been neglected. While this is undoubtedly also the case in Western Australia, with some autobiographical and ethno-specific publications about 1st generation DPs (Polish Community Council Inc., 2006; Sekulla and Legge, 2007; Wiland, 2007, 2011) these are still not part of the mainstream academic literature but belong to the "migration literature" niche. British-born Australian second generation migrant and comedienne, Magda Szubanski (2015) published a book about her Polish refugee father[12] but, as she is well-known in Australian media and has been extensively promoting her book nationally, this may not ever become relegated to the "migrant literature" category.

Probably the forefront of Australian migration literature specific to DPs and DP families began in the 1980s, as the second generation was in adulthood. Authors have used both literature and film to tell stories of the first generation through second generation eyes, thus incorporating the personal affect upon the second generation (Flanagan, 1998; Gaita, 1998). The movie, *Romulus my father* (Gaita, 1998) is written from the perspective of a young child growing up in a family affected by the results of war and displacement in a strange land, Australia; as is the book, *The Sparrow Garden* (Skrzynecki, 2004) a biographical account linking the second generation Australian DP author to his past through the meaning of place. Skryznecki has also produced poetry relating to his DP experiences, which has since been included in the High School curriculum in some States in Australia.

The book *Romulus, my father* was made into a powerful movie starring Eric Bana, a well-known Australian actor and director, though never really reached mainstream audiences. Similarly, S*ilver City* (Long and Turkiewicz, 1984) which exposed the difficulties of 1st generation DPs in Australia and *Once my mother* (Freedman and Turkiewicz, 2014), in which the writer (Turkiewicz) explored her difficult relationship with her DP mother, of whom she understood very little while growing up. Again, these movies did not reach mainstream audiences, even though they were effective in bringing out the complex and troubled relationships within DP families in Australia post-WWII. An exception was the film *Shine* which was based upon the life of concert pianist David Helfgott, born in Perth, Australia, in 1947. Helfgott is the son of Polish-Jewish refugee parents and the film told the story of his decline into and recovery from severe mental illness. This film was controversial due to the

[12] While Szubanski's father was a refugee, the family did not come out via the IRO scheme, something which she stresses early in her book.

unsympathetic portrayal of David's father but rated well in the Australian Box Office.

Other refugee film and literature has had a more contemporary focus. "Go back to where you came from" (O'Mahoney & McPhee, 2011-2012), a 9 episode television series (2011, 2012, 2015) screened by Special Broadcasting Services (SBS) was televised with the intention of making the Australian public consider the plight of the asylum seekers who arrive on Australian shores seeking refugee status. "Once upon a time in Cabramatta" (Hickey & Lim, 2012), a 3 part television documentary, related stories of Vietnamese refugee families in Australia and how they fared following migration to Australia. Anh Do, a popular author, actor and comedian, is a Vietnamese "boat person" who was a very young child when his family arrived in Australia following the Vietnam War in the 1970s; a second generation Vietnamese Australian. Using his comedic skills, he tells his story through his written memoir titled "The Happiest Refuge: A memoir" (2010), followed by his stage show also titled "The Happiest Refugee" which has been touring Australia since 2012. Papathanassiou, (2008) in his stage play acts out how he, as a second generation Greek-Australian visiting his family in Greece, finds he doesn't seem to completely belong in either Australia or Greece. This is a common theme for many 2nd generation migrants.

That many from the second generation have chosen to disclose their personal stories through media and literature demonstrates there is most definitely a gap in Australia's refugee/DP/migrant research. It appears that the stories of the 2nd generation have been neglected. The earlier studies specific to the 2nd generation DPs were undertaken while they were still in their teenage or young adult years (Harris, 1976; Johnston, 1969. 1972a, 1972b), so do not track the 2nd generation through and into their adulthood. My particular cohort is, therefore, important to the field of refugee studies as it is unique in being comprised of older participants who can look back reflectively over their early migration experiences and their experiences of growing up in a DP family in Australia.

Having satisfied myself that there was a need for research about the Second Generation Displaced Persons I commenced my study with the aim of exploring the context and experiences of this cohort. As this was an exploratory study, during the progress of the interviews I continued to search literature relevant to my cohort. The

most relevant themes to emerge from archival, oral and secondary sources include: assimilation; social capital; and resilience.

Assimilation

In 1950, UNESCO defined assimilation as: ".. a psychological, socio-economic and cultural process resulting in the progressive attenuation of differences between the behaviour of immigrants and nationals within the social life of a given country" (Borrie, 1994, p.xiv). In reality, it was not implemented progressively, but was forced upon the new migrants arriving in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s, and possibly still exists in contemporary Australia. Migrants and DPs were expected to give up their languages and their cultures and become "New Australians" while it was never anticipated that the second generation would do otherwise (Collins, 1991; Johnston, 1969).

It is worth noting at this stage that assimilation was not confined to immigrants to Australia. It had been adversely affecting indigenous Australians for many years, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, the same period as it affected the migrants and DP families (Haebich, 2011; Rowse, 2005). However, while the DPs were isolated from the mainstream population, they were not officially segregated, as were the indigenous population, and they were expected to become naturalised as soon as possible, while indigenous Australians had to make special application to become citizens; that is, they had to prove they were "living like a white man" ("Application by native: Citizen rights discussed", 1949).

According to Jupp (1994) the assimilation policy was perhaps what caused the most heartache and difficulty for the DP families in Australia and it was the policy under which the second generation displaced persons and migrants grew up. Therefore, this policy must be discussed in regard to second generation DPs as it dominated Australian migration and resettlement regulations and affected the internal dynamics of migrant and DP families (Johnston, 1979).

Borrie (1952) and Appleyard (1955) were among the first researchers to take an interest in the conditions and assimilation of Australian DPs, followed by Kunz, (1988); Taft (1965) and Zubrzycki (1964). Ruth Johnston's (1962), seminal study exploring factors of assimilation within Polish families identified both "subjective" and "external" factors of assimilation. External factors refer to the migrant "fitting in" as *physically* indistinguishable from the mainstream culture while subjective

assimilation was a *psychological* identification with the mainstream Australian society; that is, "feeling Australian". Johnston (1962) chose factors which she believed could measure the degree of assimilation. These were: food; dress; language; naturalisation, cultural activities, leisure activities, and social contacts (p.iv). A comparative study of British, German and Polish families and their degree of assimilation found that Polish migrants living in the country areas were less externally assimilated than those in the metropolitan area, and less assimilated overall than British and German; while German families had the greatest degree of assimilation (Johnston, 1979).

Johnston's (1962) measures of assimilation have been used and modified by other researchers who also focused on: satisfaction with Australian identification; following behavioural norms and mixing socially with Australians; attitude to own ethnic group; original social class; and knowledge of the English language as measures of assimilation (Harris, 1976; Martin, 1965; Richardson, 1979). Factors *affecting* assimilation were: age of the immigrant; ethnic background; marital status; level of education; age on arrival, length of residence; whether there was an already established ethnic community; availability of social, psychological, and financial support, and intervening major life events (Johnston, 1969; Martin, 1965). Some researchers also noted that DPs and other migrants at that time took out "naturalisation", which was considered by some as a measure of assimilation, not because they really wanted to be Australian but for other reasons, such as: access to services including bank loans; being able to have an Australian passport which would protect them from being repatriated to their Soviet-occupied homes; eligibility for Public Service pension schemes; and to be accepted by Australians (Kunz, 1988; Peters, 2000).

Johnston's 1962 thesis was followed comparative studies between her Polish families and other migrant families, and on the 2nd generation from these families, where she questioned the "assimilation myth" (Johnston, 1969, 1972a, 1972b, 1979; Taft & Johnston, 1967). In his intergenerational research of Polish 1st and 2nd generation in an Adelaide Polish boys' school, Harris, (1976) used a historic-sociological approach to examine ethnicity (*Polonisation*) and assimilation in 2nd generation Poles against their parental and "divided worlds" backgrounds (p494). He also examined cultural transmission and the process of ethnicisation and assimilation in bringing up the 2nd generation DPs. Rather than using Johnstons' exact indicators, Harris divided both

ethnicisation and assimilation into the factors of language, culture, structure and ideology then applied objective and subjective approaches to gauge the level of individual ethnicisation and assimilation. He further divided his subjects into "ideal types" which were Polish-Australian, High Ethnic, Anglo-Assimilate, and Alienate (p.469) and looked at the gains and losses of adaptation for 2nd generation immigrants. Harris (1976) found that the gains of adaptation were" linguistic; educational; and occupational; while the losses were ethnic culture and language. He then queried the capacity of the 2nd generation to pass Polish cultural values and linguistics to the next generation. It is worth, however, keeping in mind that the both German and Polish migrant history in South Australia is very different to that of the rest of the nation, especially Western Australia[13]. Moreover, unlike my cohort, who have the advantage of retrospect, assimilation may not have been relevant to a teenage cohort who were probably still struggling with what Taft and Johnston (1967) referred to as "deep-lying identity conflicts" (p.112).

Assimilation as an official domestic immigration policy was superseded by the integration policy in the 1960s, which was perceived by researchers as "not much more than a 'two-stage' assimilation process" (Collins, 1991, p.231). There is very little written about the policy of integration, which was in place from mid-1960s to early 1970s before being replaced with the policy of multiculturalism. However, multiculturalism came too late to be of use for many of the DPs whose childhoods were spent trying to assimilate, or at least integrate into the Australian culture and society.

Identity and belonging

It is obvious from the literature above that the concept of identity and "where do I belong?" is central to that of assimilation, of "being Australian". These assimilation studies about Australian migrants and DPs have focused upon the identity choices of being: Australian; Australian/other; or "other". That is, whether research participants of the second generation identify themselves as: Australian; a combination of Australian plus another ethnicity; or as non-Australian but by their ethnic heritage or

[13] Silesian Poles and Lutheran Germans settled in and around Adelaide from the 1840s and established themselves as an integral part of the region, so maintaining their Polish and German cultures and languages (Polish Hill River Church Museum Committee, 2006), whereas, in other parts of Australia, Polish and other Eastern Europeans had no historical or cultural connections.

culture (Harris, 1976; Johnston, 1969; 1972). Both Harris's and Johnston's research demonstrated this effectively.

Another aspect of self-identification is that of "conditional" identity when the person identifies with both the ethnic identity and the Australian identity, depending upon whom they are with or to suit the circumstances (Peters, 2000). Handler (1994) in his critique of the different concepts of identity states that:

> "(I)dentity" is used in reference to three aspects of human experience: first, to individual human persons; second, to collectivities or groups of human beings that are imagined to be individuated somewhat as human persons are imagined to be discrete one from another; and, third, to the relationship between these two – in particular, *to the ways in which human persons are imagined to assimilate elements of collective identities into their unique personal identities* (p.28). (my italics).

However, Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008) argue that the concept of identity requires further investigation to provide more "theoretical or methodological precision for engaged, critical research" (p.39). They also point out that "many theories of identity are posited on an overly strict delineation between self and other, which is seldom evident in the 'real world'" and assert that an individual can have more than one collective identity (p.42).

The link between assimilation and identity is explained by Ien Ang (2001) in her book *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West.* The complexities of finding her own identity as an ethnic Chinese, born in Indonesia, growing up in the Netherlands from the age of twelve, and later migrating to Australia, are carefully analysed. She begins her path to identity from her life of assimilation in the Netherlands, where, she noted that:

> In general, however, my Asianness tended to be treated as non-existent; for many years I went through life (in Europe) in the belief that my Asian background was of no real significance to my social identity (p.9).

Ang speaks of the emergence of "identity politics" which began in the 1960s and the freedom to be different. She announces that:

> Claiming one's difference (from the mainstream or dominant national culture) and turning it into symbolic capital has become a powerful and attractive strategy among those who have never quite belonged, or have been made to feel that they do not quite belong (pp.11-12).

The way in which Ien Ang speaks of discovering her identity invokes the ideas of Allahar (2001), who refers to identity and identity formation as psychological and political concepts. He describes identity as a matter of negotiation. That is, how a person self-identifies may not be how that person is identified by others. For example, Ang identified as Dutch but others observed her as Asian and expected her to speak Chinese, thus imposing on her different identities than the one she thought she had. This was in spite of her being externally *and* subjectively assimilated (Johnston, 1962). In situations such as this the psychological aspect of identity becomes political and an "issue of power" in which the one with the most power determines how the other person is identified, and what identity they are given (Ang, p.197).

Forms of capital

It became obvious during interviews for this study that the majority of my participants had grown up in a situation where there were no pre-existing resources for either their families or themselves. This made sense as they, the family, had been dislocated for a number of years and had migrated to Australia as refugees. I therefore commenced a literature search for determining factors of social and other forms of capital to see how this linked to my cohort.

Social capital was the form of capital most discussed in the literature. The ABS 2004 information paper "Measuring social capital: An Australian framework and indicators" described social capital as:

> Social capital relates to the resources available within communities in networks of mutual support, reciprocity, and trust. It is a contributor to community strength. Social capital can be accumulated when people interact with each other in families, workplaces, neighbourhoods, local associations,

> interest groups, government, and a range of informal and formal meeting places (p.5)

The above definition has as its focus a community approach to social capital. Other definitions come from a more structural approach as in Cullen and Whiteford (2001) who state that social capital is "the features of social organization, such as civic participation, norms of reciprocity, and trust in others, that facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit" (p.4). In this same vein, Bordieu (1986) defines social capital as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources linking to possession of durable networks (p.51). Economic and cultural capital such as wealth, education, occupation, property and reputation also add to social capital (Bourdieu, 1997). Another, more holistic, understanding of social capital is that it, "as measured by the strength of family, neighbourhood, religious and community ties, is found to support both physical health and subjective well-being" (Helliwell and Putnam, 2004, p.1435).

Even though each theorist views social capital through different lenses, broadly they agree upon the elements of social capital. In each of these definitions it is clear that it is a person's relationships which determine the amount of social capital, actual or potential, and positive or negative, that they have available. Portes (1998) emphasises the importance of relationships to social capital. He states that, to possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, or herself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage (p.7). Coleman (1990) states that social capital is created: "by changing persons so as to give them skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways" (p.304).

A review of the literature makes it possible to distinguish three basic functions of social capital, applicable in a variety of contexts: (a) as a source of social control; (b) as a source of family support; (c) as a source of benefits through extra-familial networks (Portes, 1998, p.9). The negative outcomes of social capital are: exclusion of outsiders; excess claims on group members; restrictions on individual freedoms; and downward levelling norms (Portes, 1998, p.15).

In a relationship in which social capital is actioned, there are obligations and incentives (Portes, 1998). Portes (1988) defines two types of motivation in social capital: consummatory; and instrumental (p.7) Consummatory refers to a sense of obligation, where people act as a resource through a feeling of obligation; while

instrumental is when they provide a resource in expectation of some form of repayment. The relationship which provides the social capital has the obligation of reciprocity and is linked to the different motivations for this; for example, being part of an ethnic group and wanting to maintain solidarity (pp.8-9). This means that within the group supplying the social capital, as I noted within the families of DPs in post-WWII Australia, there are expectations of returned favours as well as solidarity within the group.

Other types of capital, which link to social capital are: cultural capital, economic capital, and human capital (Bourdieu, 1997). Bourdieu (1997) states that cultural capital can exist in the embodied state, that is, it comes: from within the person; in the form of cultural goods, such as cultural objects; or in the form of education. Economic capital in the form of investment is needed to access the other types of capital, such as social and cultural (p.47). Human capital was not often mentioned in the literature, yet it is an essential part of the migrant/DP experience. "Human capital is defined as "productive wealth embodied in labor, skills and knowledge" (OECD, 2001 cited in Tan, 2014 (p.412) which "refers to any stock of knowledge or the innate/acquired characteristics a person has that contributes to his or her economic productivity" (Garibaldi, 2006 cited in Tan, 2014, p.412). This is very like Bourdieu's definition of embodied cultural capital as it has at its core the need to invest in education.

As can be seen from these descriptions of the different forms of capital, they can be manipulated for different purposes, such as political or economic, and used as a source of power, as has been shown by Stanton-Salazar (2010) in his article on empowering low-status students through institutionalized social capital. Social capital and education are linked in that education is important in building trust, which is essential to social capital and results in greater political and civic engagement (Putnam, 1995a; Putnam, 1995b). Helliwell and Putnam (2004) also connected social capital to physical health and subjective well-being through the strength of family, neighbourhood and community ties.

Much of the literature on 2nd generation migrant children and social capital relates to education, linking the amount of family capital spent on assisting children with their education with the social capital available to the children and family in the community (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; Adedokun & Balschweid, 2008; Marjoribanks, 1998; Portes & MacLeod, 1999). Adedokun and Balschweid (2008)

credited enhanced *family* social capital with successful educational achievement coupled with lower delinquency of adolescents. Marjoribanks (1998) in his Australian studies assessing family capital and children's academic performance found that family context was moderately to largely associated with academic performance in children and youth aspiration (p.328). Hagan, MacMillan, and Wheaton (1996) analysed the effect of family capital on children affected by migration, finding that negative effects are more pronounced when the fathers were uninvolved and mothers unsupportive. When negative effects were in place the family could not counterbalance the effect of the migratory move (p.368).

However, Winter (2000) challenges the findings of social capital theorists who state that the family is the basis of social capital, arguing that Putnam, Bourdieu and other theorists are vague as to what they mean by this.

Social capital can be affected by broader social factors, such as status and power. Low social capital is considered a risk factor for particular negative types of parenting such as neglectful parenting, psychologically harsh parenting, and domestic violence though not harsh physical punishment (Zolotor & Runyan, 2006). The negative effect on the second generation migrant due to restricted social capital has recently been documented by van Ravenstein (2010) a 2nd generation Dutch-Australian migrant, who highlights the powerlessness of the 2nd generation migrant due to the family's exclusion from the wider community. Gowan's (2014) study on unemployed African-American men in St Louis, however, demonstrated that the unequal distribution of social capital reinforced the low status of some members of society while increasing that of others. This then led to negative forms of social capital, that is, illegal activities and social isolation on the part of those lacking both economic and educational capital. This study, however, is not comparative with the above studies on educational achievements of adolescents as its focus is upon adults in the workforce rather than adolescents still in educational institutions.

While reviewing the literature on social capital, I was concurrently assessing its importance as a framework for my cohort. As interviews progressed, it was clear that the framework, with its focus on availability of resources and the overlap with other forms of capital, such as cultural, economic, and human, was pertinent for the cohort in this study who, in many regards, spent their early lives *lacking* most of these forms of capital. An interesting finding by Ledogar and Fleming, (2008) demonstrated a strong link between social capital in particular and resilience, with greater access to

social capital building greater resilience in children. As Aboriginal youth, like many of my cohort in their younger lives, were also from a marginalised group and needing the same capacity for personal survival as did many of my cohort, I, therefore, decided to search further on the issue of resilience.

Resilience

In their literature review on resilience in Aboriginal Australian youth, Ledogar and Fleming (2008) linked social capital and resilience, also taking into account the issue of mental health. They defined resilience as "positive adaptation despite adversity" (p.25). Resilience and social capital were assessed at both community and personal levels and it was found that social capital can be both an asset and a resource for resilience for either the community or the individual (Ledogar & Fleming, 2008). Ledogar and Fleming's (2008) study describing the link between social capital and resilience aroused my interest as it was clear that, like the indigenous youth in that study, the majority of my cohort had grown up with a history of displacement and sometimes inherited trauma, with either limited or absent social capital and in a period dominated by assimilation. The circumstances of my cohort made me wonder how they managed, not only to survive difficult circumstances, but also become fully contributing family and community members in their adult lives.

Secondly, what drove the literature search was a comment written by one interviewee on the bottom of his transcript. "I hope you get the feel" he wrote, "you do what you gotta do" (Joseph, April, 2013). Joseph, like others in the cohort, had survived many difficulties from early in his life and, I believe, fitted the following definition of resilience in children as "characteristics of children and their experiences in families, schools and communities that allow them to thrive despite exposure to adversity and deficiencies in the settings of their daily lives" (Stewart, Sun, Patterson, Lemerle, and Hardie, 2004, p.26). Stewart et al (2004) also stressed the importance of the school environment in developing psychological resilience in children.

Cowen and Work (1988) in their literature review on resilient children used the terms invulnerability, resilience, and invincibility interchangeably. They questioned why some children exposed to stressful life and environmental circumstances remain resilient when research has proven there are adverse outcomes for children exposed to these circumstances and which increase with the amount of exposure. Responses to adverse events, such as divorce of parents differed from events such as death in

the family but included: acting out; antisocial behaviour; extreme shyness or anxiety; and maladjustment problems at school.

Factors identified as affecting resilience were personal characteristics such as age, demographic background, and gender, as well as personal qualities and prior experiences. These personal qualities such as temperament, coping skills, and self-esteem were of importance as stress-protective factors as were environmental factors such as close parental identification and a cohesive family structure. External factors such as having a support system were also considered to be important (Cowen & Work, 1988). This literature was used to inform my understanding of this cohort as interviews progressed.

Summary

To aim of this literature review was, firstly, to explore the different theories of migration to see whether they applied to the DPs who had come to Australia post-World War Two (WWII). Theories such as the neo-classical theories which were mainly based upon economic factors were assessed, as were the push-pull theories, which again had at their core economics and search for better lifestyle as prime motivations for migration. Social transformation theories put forward viewed migration as a reciprocal process, in which the receiving nations were transformed socially, economically, and culturally by the migrants who in turn had changed culturally as they became part of their new culture. While the difference between forced and voluntary refugees was discussed, refugee theory was a very small part of this, which was not surprising given that there such diversity in migration research.

Theories specific to refugees came separately to general migration theory, but there was little relating to DPs, especially those who migrated to Australia post-WWII. A further search revealed that there was copious literature relating to refugees internationally, though not specifically to DPs. This was surprising as there were many nations that received DPs following WWII, including the US, Australia, Canada, and Argentina (Kunz, 1988, p.36). Of the theories, Kunz's (1988) push-pull-plunge model of migration, provided the clearest explanation of the DPs and other refugees' motives for migration to other countries.

It was found that most of the Australian literature related to specific ethnic groups of migrants, with very little about the DPs and, what literature there was, mainly focused upon the 1st generation. The literature relating to the 2nd generation DP was scarce and mainly found in biographies about the 1st generation or included as a

separate section within literature about the 1st generation. The literature about assimilation and identity and belonging was also explored as this policy was in force while the 2nd generation was in their early years. Social capital and resilience were effects which arose during the study, so this was reviewed concurrently as research progressed. However, that there was little literature and research about the 2nd generation DPs that I could draw upon prior to commencing this study. This was, therefore, what informed my choice of methodology, which is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter begins by discussing the theoretical approach used in this study, including the research design, methodology and methods used, and the specific issues of conducting research within this particular cohort. The ethics surrounding research with this cohort are discussed, and the limitations of the study outlined.

Research purpose

The purpose of the research is to investigate the experiences of a cohort of second generation DPs who grew up in Australia. Study participants are 2nd generation DPs of Polish and/or German descent who are now living in Western Australia. Within the cohort are two participants who grew up in other states of Australia but moved to WA when they married, however, as they had experienced the early migration process from Europe to Australia, they have been included in the study. The reasons for choosing participants from WA were: firstly, a nationwide or interstate study was impractical due to distance, cost, and time constraints; secondly and more importantly, the unique circumstances of DP families which resettled in WA, as WA is the largest State in Australia, and was also the least populated in the 1950s when the DPs migrated. Geographically, the areas where DP families were sent to work in their first two and sometimes more years of resettlement were, and possibly still are, the most extreme climatic and most isolated regions within Australia. In their early years, many in this cohort grew up in rural and remote areas, isolated geographically and socially and generally without resources.

Research question

The questions I wish to explore are:

- What effect did the limited family social and economic capital have upon the lives of this cohort?
- What cultural capital did they have available to them?
- Who was their main community? That is, did they assimilate?
- How did they perceive themselves in Australian society and personally?
- How did they negotiate between their family culture and Australian culture?
- Did they develop resilience/adaptability through their experiences?

Theoretical framework

This research is based upon the notion that *theory* "… tells an enlightening story about some phenomenon" thus giving new insights and broadening understanding of that phenomenon (Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. xvii). It is framed, more specifically, upon the principle that a theory should: provide a simple explanation relevant to a phenomenon; be consistent with the observed relation and an already established body of knowledge; provide a tentative explanation and means of verification and revision and; stimulate further research (Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. xvii).

The area which I am exploring has traditionally been under-researched (Baldassar, 2001; Persia, 2011; Peters, 2000). As the individuals upon whom this research is founded are, for the most part, now entering their senior years they are now wishing to speak about not only their own experiences, but also to convey their impressions of the effect of migration on themselves and other members of their families. This provides new insights which theory needs to capture.

Grounded theory

Due to the dearth of research in my chosen area when I commenced this thesis, I utilised a grounded theory approach to collect and analyse the data. Grounded theory is commonly used when an area of research has been under-researched or not researched at all (Cresswell, 2003). It is an *inductive* qualitative research methodology. That is, research theory is generated from the data, in contrast to deductive research which is based upon the testing of an already proposed theory (Blaikie, 2000; Cresswell, 2003). Grounded theory is also the methodology of choice when more in-depth knowledge or understanding of those being interviewed is sought.

Assumptions of qualitative theory are that it is: relative, that is, it adapts as the nature of knowledge changes; unique to the people being researched as well as to the context; and is inductive (Taylor, 2006, p.319). Being context specific and adaptable is the strength of *qualitative* research. It provides richness and depth coming from the data collected, which is why it is suitable for studies involving people's life experiences and perceptions (Whitely et al., 1998). However, the conceptual development and relationships within the data rely upon the researcher's familiarity with the material as well as the use of the "constant comparison" approach in which information is systematically compared within emerging categories to find

differences and similarities within the cohort (Cresswell, 2003; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This allows for conceptual density within the data.

This constant comparison method of grounded theory is different from other ethnographic research as it does not rely upon the "thick descriptions" described by Geertz (1973), where the emphasis is on detailed description rather than concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.161). Additionally, it does not commence by using theoretical concepts as a framework for research, as in theoretical ethnography (Cresswell, 2003; Cresswell, 2007). Rather, as has already been discussed, it is based upon developing theory directly from research participants. Throughout the research I had to continuously seek for multiple interpretations of the data and question those interpretations, which is the aim of grounded research (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Moreover, unlike in quantitative studies in which a hypothesis is postulated then tested, in grounded theory the data collection and analysis are carried out concurrently, so that theory can evolve. Additionally, unlike quantitative studies in which there is a minimum population required to prove theory, in grounded theory sampling finishes when the point of saturation is reached. That is, when the same properties repeatedly arise and there is no further new information or any new categories forming (Glaser, 1978, p.53).

Ethnography

It could be said that to some degree this study is ethnographic. Like grounded theory, ethnographic research is a well-known and utilised qualitative approach in which data collection and analysis are similarly concurrent. It includes the use of observation, journal entries and memos (Fetterman, 1998). It is ethnographic in nature in that I am researching a selective cohort, exploring their cultural backgrounds, and delving into their experiences in order to develop understanding from their perspective (Fetterman, 1998) However, taking into account Cresswell's (1998, 2003) description of ethnography as research in which "… the researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational data" (p.14) it did not suit my research design. My cohort was not an intact cultural group and the study was not a long-term observational study.

Initially, I had considered that this research study could almost be described as auto-ethnographic. That is, the researcher (myself) is: (1) a full member in the research

group or setting, (2) visible as such a member in the researcher's published texts, and (3) committed to an analytic research agenda focused on improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena (Anderson, 2006, p.375).

Based upon the above definition I was: a) most definitely a member of the research group, with similar experiences, so my immersion in the research was natural and not contrived; b) visible as a member of this cohort as I have included my own experiences in comparison with those of my cohort or to clarify certain contexts; and c) the focus of this research was to understand and develop a theoretical foundation for this particular cohort, who are an early reflection of circumstances around contemporary 2nd generation displaced persons.

In auto-ethnographic research the interviewer includes their voice and their experiences by writing it into the research. This makes the interviewer a "boundary-crosser" with a dual identity (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p.3). As an auto-ethnographer I would also be visible as such in my thesis, which is focussed upon understanding and developing theory based upon the experiences of my participants and myself. Nevertheless, I consider my place in this research auto-biographical in nature rather than auto-ethnographic. While the similarity in cultural experiences and beliefs are real, thereby affecting my subjectivity in the research, I wish to focus not so much upon my experiences but rather on those of the people whom I interviewed. My own knowledge is used in a comparative sense when speaking of particular experiences within this cohort.

Interpretive approach

The qualitative approach used in my research is *interpretive*, that is, based upon the notion of *verstehen*, or the understanding of human experiences (Anfara & Mertz, 2006). Interpretive research looks for meaning and interpretation of the social world and requires some empathy and understanding of the complexity of "constructed reality", or how people interpret their worlds, on the part of the researcher (Schram, 2003; Schwandt, 2000; Willis, 2007).

To enhance my understanding of the interpretations of meaning in my cohort, I utilised my personal experiences and knowledge of the subject area to begin the research process, a process which is described as being *heuristic* based upon Moustakas' theory that:

> Heuristic inquiry is a process that begins with a question or problem which the researcher seeks to illuminate or answer. The question is one that has been a personal challenge and puzzlement in the search to understand one's self and the world in which one lives (Moustakas, 1990, p.15).

To do research in this way, *theoretical sensitivity* is required, which means the researcher is aware of disciplinary issues and has personal knowledge of the subject being researched (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.173). Glaser (1978) emphasises that it is necessary to have a broad but not specific understanding of the subject area as the researcher must try to have as few pre-conceived ideas as possible. However, to dissociate from the subject and perceive the information collected without bias, as Glaser advocates, can cause difficulties for the heuristic researcher as it is contrary to what heuristic research is about. Heuristic inquiry requires complete immersion in the area of intended research during the research formulation stage (Moustakas 1990, pp.44-45), such as becoming aware of the meanings and observations relating to the question about to be asked.

As a heuristic researcher I became deeply embedded in my research, thereby reflecting upon and sharing my own personal experiences on the topic with interviewees when appropriate. In order to do this, I had to draw upon my own self-knowledge to understand and interpret what the interviewee was disclosing and take into account my own emotional responses, which sometimes arose during interviews. The end result of this research therefore includes the "cognitive and emotional reflections of the researcher, which add context and layers to the story being told about participants" (Ellis & Berger, 2003, p.162). In the context of my study, both myself, and my research participants, are clearly visible in the data (Moustakas, 1990, p.39). Additionally, the literary manner in which the research is presented is of a personal nature and centred round "understanding", "discovery" and "meaning" as compared to "objectivity" (Cresswell, 1998, p.76).

However, for myself, *the most important feature of qualitative research is that a relationship develops between the researcher and the research participant*, as my own experience has confirmed.

Research paradigm

I have utilised Cresswell's (1998) five concepts for substance in qualitative research to demonstrate the paradigm within which this study is conducted. These are: the multiple nature of reality (ontology); construction of knowledge through the researcher/interviewee relationship (epistemology); value-laden aspect (axiology); personal approach to writing the narrative; and the emerging inductive narrative of the methodology (p.73). The ontological, epistemological and axiological concepts are discussed in the following section; the personal approach and emerging narrative have already been discussed earlier in this chapter.

Ontology

Ontology is the *nature of reality*, or the belief system, within which the researcher operates (Cresswell, 1998, p.76). As a researcher, my belief is that there are multiple realities and that each individual's unique story is their "truth" (Cresswell, 2007; Schram, 2003). These individual truths are based upon each person's life experiences, which are remembered and reframed within their own particular context, and which may change when viewed from different periods in time. This, therefore, renders each individual's story equally valid and important, despite variations between individuals and how each perceives his or her experiences.

Epistemology

Epistemology refers to the *nature of knowledge* derived during the research process. It is believed that the more empathy or understanding, even contact, with the group being researched, the better the research will be interpreted (Becker, 1996). As an example, feminist research is based upon the premise that interpretations of women's experiences will vary according to whether the research was conducted from a male or female perspective (Willis, 2007, p.10).

Keeping this is mind during my research I felt that having experienced the same or similar phenomena as my research participants gave me "insider" status, which should allow me a closer connection with the participants in my study than it would a researcher who was not part of this cohort or had only experienced its worlds vicariously. In this capacity, however, it is important to acknowledge that having this insider knowledge and experience also influenced my reactions to participant stories and the way in which meaning was constructed from interviews with research participants (Guba & Lincoln, 2004; Kinchloe & McLaren, 1998; Schram, 2003). While this could be seen as a problem if regarding research as an objective process, I

believe that my prior experience and insider knowledge actually served to validate and strengthen the data (Djuraskovic & Arthur, 2010). However, given differences in personality, backgrounds, and gender it would be unusual to have perfect rapport and understanding with all interviewees and this was also taken into account when interpreting and presenting research outcomes. This is where the question of values came into play.

Axiology

The question of values, or axiology, arose during interviews when it became apparent to me that, at times, my values differed from those of the person I was interviewing. The effect of this realisation was that it forced me to question my own beliefs or else try to understand from the other person's perspective. In some cases, my own perspective on certain aspects of the research which I was undertaking did undergo change but I also noted that, through the interview process, a few of my research participants occasionally stopped to think about what they had just said, mentally reframing their own perspectives. Here, I am not talking about putting ideas into the participants' minds; rather they, through reflection, clarifying their own thoughts.

The issue of researcher values is an important one; the reason being that, even though the interviewees may be quoted and have their stories told through the research, in the final analysis it is the researcher who decides what is important in the study (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Weiss, 1994). Additionally, it may be that the researcher is interpreting what they *think* the interviewee means, so as they are not that person and don't operate from the same context, there has to be mutual trust that the real interpretation is not lost in translation (Anfara & Mertz, 2006) That is: "we always describe how they (the interviewees) interpret the events they participate in, so the only question is not whether we should, but how accurately we do it." (Becker, 1996, p.4). I have endeavoured to interpret as faithfully as possible the meaning of what my research participants related and hope I have met with more, rather that less, success in doing so.

Methods

The two main methods of data collection for this research were in-depth interviews followed up by focus groups to further an emerging theme arising from the interviews. Other methods of data collection were the use of documentary sources,

archival databases, and my personal observations and memos while conducting this research.

Interviews

Conducting inductive research using methods such as in-depth interviews, while time-consuming, added value to the research as it allowed me, the researcher, to delve more deeply into each individual experience. This enabled a greater expression of the interviewees' emotions and experiences from which to begin the lengthy path to theoretical development. A very important aspect of this type of research that can only be captured by qualitative methods is the individual voice of the interviewee coming through. Observation during interviews is equally important as are body language and the context of the interview, such as the person's home, whether other people were present during interview. This extra information allows for a greater insight into the informant's life and therefore an enhanced understanding of their experiences.

Empowering the individual to tell their own story and the authenticity of my research methods was my purpose for employing in-depth interviewing for my cohort. The intention was to capture and disseminate the lifetime experiences of a particular cohort with empathy and understanding (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, & Alexander, 1990). Additionally, whilst secondary sources are useful for verification of data I did not want to base my research on second-hand information.

I am conscious that information derived directly from the source could challenge the hegemonic beliefs about the experiences of this cohort and welcome this. That is, challenge beliefs about this cohort which are based upon official government and secondary historical sources, or emanating from informants without personal knowledge or understanding of 2nd generation DPs or their experiences. Having said this, I am also aware that information coming from the source can be problematic in some cases. For example, it was clear in some interviews that the informant had already mentally pre-edited information. By this process they appeared to have pre-determined what facts or experiences they considered relevant or which they would reveal during interview. This therefore posed a challenge for me to elicit extra information from the informant in order to uncover a more rounded view of their experiences. For this to occur, the interview needed to be an interactive process, known as "active" interviewing and which I aspired to achieve.

"Active" interviewing is that in which the research participant possesses a "stock of knowledge" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p.31), accessed according to the role being created. In my interviews the roles of interviewees moved from: second generation displaced person/family member/sibling/ spouse/privileged informant/community member and other associated roles, as did my own roles within this diorama including my researcher/insider role. The dynamic nature of active interviewing enabled me to probe and explore apparent contradictions and thereby "interpret, construct or deconstruct [my] "stock of knowledge"" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p.39). The emerging data could, therefore, be described as a joint narration between myself and the interviewee. Given the dynamic nature of active interviewing, however, it was to be expected that the narrative changed as each interview progressed and as the "hidden levels of discourse" were revealed (Grele, 1998, p. 45). Surprisingly, I could sense that some interviewees revealed more during interviews than they had anticipated, which demonstrates the unpredictability brought about by researcher/interviewee interaction during interview.

Focus groups

A focus group is "a form of group interview in which: there are several participants (in addition to the moderator/facilitator); there is an emphasis in the questioning on a particular fairly tightly defined topic; and the accent is upon interaction within the group and the joint construction of meaning" (Bryman, 2004, p.246). Focus groups are used in preference to interviews when the researcher wishes to explore a particular theme or subject about which little is known (Bryman, 2004). In this way, it is similar to the grounded theory approach though much more specific. The focus group topic is explored through the group interaction, which is facilitated by the researcher, or facilitator. While this requires some skill in drawing out opinions and orchestrating the group so that all opinions can be heard, the focus group is very effective in stimulating thought and discussion about a particular topic (Bryman, 2004; Stewart et al, 2007).

As already discussed, given the information from interviewees about their early lives I had reason to believe that there was an underlying theme emanating from the interviews which had not been explored at the time, that is, the issue of resilience within the cohort. What strengthened this impression were the similar experiences and similar life outcomes in a cohort who had been disadvantaged in a number of ways from early in life. I was not sure whether what I was noting was resilience or

some other quality or factor within this cohort. However, this was not something I wished to impose upon the research and it therefore required further exploration.

Focus groups were carried out to explore the term "resilience" and to explore whether the focus group participants felt that, as 2nd generation DPs this was something they related to, and if so, how. The main reasons for carrying out these focus groups, and the most relevant to this research, is because focus group participants can construct meaning around the topic through interaction and discussion. Through observing this process, the researcher can gain an understanding of why participants hold particular opinions and can observe how the discussion evolves (Bryman, 2004).

Morgan (1997) outlines the "rules of thumb" for focus groups as being: "(a) use homogeneous strangers as participants, (b) rely on a relatively structured interview with high moderator involvement, (c) have 6 to 10 participants per group, and (d) have a total of 3 to 5 groups per project" (p34). While these rules of thumb are practicably based upon experience, they are mainly for the benefit of market researchers, so are less flexible than what is required for qualitative research. For example, it may not always be possible to use strangers as participants, plus, as the idea of the focus group is to stimulate interaction between participants in order to obtain information then high moderator involvement would be counter-productive.

A primary consideration when carrying out focus groups in an area of confidentiality, such as in my study, was that the participants must be made aware that everyone in the group will be identifiable to each other and to the assistant moderator. This was something that was made clear when inviting focus group participants and again prior to commencing the session, with participants being given the opportunity to opt out if they felt uncomfortable.

Research process

For this study, 33 in-depth interviews[14] were carried out as well as 2 focus groups, consisting of 9 participants in total. The study was confined to participants living in Western Australia, for the reasons already stated under "research purpose". The people that I was researching were 2nd generation displaced persons who had either migrated to Australia with their parents through the IRO scheme of 1947-1952, or

[14] Three interviews were not used in the analysis as the interviewees did not meet all criteria for the study. A summary of their interviews is included in the appendix.

who had been born in Australian of DP migrants to Australia through the IRO resettlement scheme. I was specifically interested in people who had the same ethnicity as myself, which is Polish/German, also Polish or German, as I felt that in having a common background we would be more likely to relate to one another. Additionally, the Polish DPs were the largest ethnic group to migrate to Australia as refugees post-WWII so I felt this would be an important study of their 2nd generation. Although there were many Polish DP families who migrated to Australia post WII, there appeared to be little known about them in the Australian community. The German DPs were scarce and, like my own mother, were the wives of DPs and classified as such, as Germans, post-WWII, were not allowed refugee status by the IRO (Kunz, 1988).

Second generation definition

For the purposes of this study, my definition of a 2nd generation Displaced Person is: "a person who migrated to Australia with their DP parents as an infant or young children up to the age of 12; or, a person who was born in Australia with one or both parents who had migrated to Australia as DPs through the IRO resettlement scheme of 1947-1952".

While this definition differs from the ABS definition of 2nd generation migrants as: "Australian-born people living in Australia, with at least one overseas-born parent (http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats, 2012), it is similar to that of other migration researchers (see literature review, 2nd generation section), and fits into the broader definition of 2nd generation from which Portes & Rumbaut, (2007, p.987) have taken their definition for their longitudinal study of 2nd generation migrants in the USA; that is, "second-generation as native-born children of foreign parents or foreign-born children who were brought to the United States before adolescence".

It must be acknowledged that there are differences between child DP migrants and those born in Australia, relating to experiences and memories that child migrants have of their pre-migration years, but also depending upon their age at migration. However, as a purpose of this study is to explore the childhood experiences in Australia of being a migrant child, whether born in Australia or migrating with family, and growing up in the political and social environment of the post-war period., I have referred to the pre-adolescent child migrants, who were still in the formative stage of their lives on migration, as 2nd generation Australians, the

assumption being that there would still be many commonalities between the two groups.

The definitional age limit of 12 years for 2nd generation was chosen as this is when children are in their formative years, which "form the basis of intelligence, personality, social behaviour, and capacity to learn and nurture oneself as an adult" (http://www.unicef.org/earlychildhood/index_40748.html).

To encompass the experiences and memories of the older child migrants, and for the purpose of analysis, I have separated my cohort into two groups: a) child migrants who arrived in Australia with their DP parents from the age of 3.5-12 years; and b) child migrants who arrived with DP parents from the arrival age of up to 3.5 years plus the Australian-born children of DPs. The reason I have done this grouping is because, when asking about memories of migration, the earliest memory in the cohort was from an interviewee who could remember events that took place when she was three and a half years of age.

Procedure - data collection and analysis

Sampling

The sample for this study was initially recruited by purposeful sampling, which is based upon the selection of eligible participants due to certain characteristics they have which are important to the study (Coyne, 1997). Purposeful sampling allowed me to select persons from a similar, though not identical, background among this population. This made it possible to apply some comparisons within the sample; and to find cases from which to develop my theory (Maxwell, 2009, p.235). As the interviews continued, snowball sampling also provided further contacts for interview. I consider snowball sampling an appropriate recruitment method because, "…snowball sampling is often employed as a particularly effective tool when trying to obtain information on and access to 'hidden populations'" (Noy ,2008, p.330).

There were a number of things I had to keep in mind when selecting interviewees for both in-depth interviews and the follow-up focus groups, the latter being selected from informants who had already been interviewed. The *criteria for interview* was that the person had to: have experienced life growing up in Australia as a child of Displaced Persons; be willing to share his or her experiences; be reflective of those experiences (Morse, 2007, p.229).

While I hoped for a fairly equal number of male/female and German/Polish background interviewees it was not intended to select interviewees according to these criteria as this was a qualitative study with no psychometric measurements applied in the analysis. Neither did I want to focus on the Polish and German ethnic organisations in Western Australia as my aim was to include the experiences of those who had become "ethnically invisible" within the Australian community. That is, the 2nd generation who had completely (subjectively) assimilated (Johnston, 1962) and identified only as Australian as well as those who still visibly carried on the ethnic traditions of their parents and communities. *Focus group* members were selected on the basis of: participant's interest in the research; whether they had already expressed an agreement to participate in further interviews; and whether I thought they would interact well with each other. The strength of focus groups lies in the interaction between its members. The main aspect of focus group interviewing which I wanted to take advantage of was the group dynamic, therefore choice of participants was key to this (Rabiee, 2004). While there were others who were also suitable, I preferred a smaller, more intimate group due to the subject matter.

Recruitment

Interviews took place northeast of Perth in Northam and nearby areas, and as far south of Perth as Augusta. One participant, who lives in Denmark, near Albany in the south, was interviewed in Perth. (see Image 1 below for recruitment area)

Recruitment for interviewees began with the distribution of flyers to advertise the research and request eligible volunteers for interview. Flyers were distributed in: public libraries and community centres in Perth and Fremantle; the Polish House in Maylands; German Rhein-Donau club in Myaree; Northam Pubic Library and Visitor Centre; and an aged care facility in Northam. A letter to the Perth German newsletter *TREFFPUNKT WA*, an article in the *Northam Gazette*, and a notice in the "Can You Help?" section of the West Australian newspaper were also published in my search for eligible volunteers to interview (Appendix 1).

The flyers left in local community centres and libraries elicited no results but I was surprised to find that there had been very little interest from either the Polish community organisation in Perth or the Northam Visitor Centre, especially given the large post-war migrant population and that the Northam Visitor Centre also contained an exhibition about post-WWII non-British migrants. I later learned that

there was no longer any defined Polish community in Northam, since the Polish Club was disbanded some years ago. Additionally, the Polish community in Perth has been carrying out its own historical research, some of which is referenced in this thesis. Three participants were recruited through the article in the Northam's Avon Advocate, one from *TREFFPUNKT WA* and 19 through the "Can You Help" notice, with a further 10 participants referred on by word-of-mouth.

Image 1: Map of cohort recruitment area in Southwestern Australia

Interviews took place as far south as Augusta and east to Northam and surrounding towns.

(accessed from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File_talk:WAHighways.png)

Recruitment was complicated by the fact that I was not able to recruit childhood friends from other DP families, as our family had gradually lost contact with many migrant families due to their constant relocation. Many DPs moved from the country towns where they had been sent to work into outer suburbs of Perth, the capital of Western Australia, or to other regional towns such as Bunbury, Narrogin, and Albany in Australia's southwest. For example, Poprezny (2005, no pagination) states that:

> The steady exodus of migrants from Wyalkatchem therefore commenced fairly soon after these people had arrived and continued throughout the 1950s

> and 1960s so that by 1970 only a handful of individuals remained, meaning the town's migrant phase had come to an end in just two decades.

Additionally, the loosening ties, which had been kept up only through the efforts of my parents, were eventually broken due to age, sickness, and mortality within their DP friendship group. The main point of contact between the families who migrated and socialised together is now primarily at funerals as the number of 1st generation DPs rapidly dwindles.

As it was difficult to find participants of German background for the study, I assumed that perhaps this was due to the 2nd generation being completely assimilated and so not interested in being involved in the study. However, there was a good reason for the lack of response which was, as already noted, because. German nationals were not recognised by the Allies as refugees of the Second World War and so were not qualified to migrate as such through the IRO scheme. However, another reason could have been that they did not wish to be noticed. Bernhardt's (2013) study on 2nd generation Germans (not DPs) in Australia found that members of the cohort felt "shame" because of their German backgrounds and had experienced teasing and inappropriate comments because of this. This changed with multiculturalism, to a feeling of pride in being German. Additionally, the German migrants migrating to Australia in the post-WWII period, commencing 1951, came under completely different circumstances to those who had married DPs. Unlike the DPs, these Germans were voluntary migrants with advanced technical skills (Jupp, 1998).

The main hurdle which I foresaw in recruiting participants was that my cohort had grown up in the period of assimilation. It was likely that many of the 2nd generation would have been absorbed into the greater Australian culture, as I had, and did not identify with their ethnic culture. I considered that these people might not want to acknowledge having come from a DP ethnic background. Therefore, it was as important to me to unearth these "invisible" 2nd generation who had completely assimilated as well as those who still visibly carried on the ethnic traditions of their parents and ethnic communities. The initial difficulty I had in finding participants and comments made in interview showed that some were indeed reluctant to identify with their ethnic background, yet they still chose to participate in the study.

Interviews

Prior to commencing interviewing, two pilot interviews were undertaken to test the interview schedule, with interviewees who were 2nd generation migrants but not displaced persons. One of the pilot interviewees was, however, of a similar age and had migrated at the same time as my interviewees would have. The interview was successful in that it elicited information about the interviewee of which, his wife told me, he had rarely spoken to his family. The other was not as successful as I discovered that the interviewee was a third, not second generation, but whose mother had migrated as a child DP. This meant I had to be more specific about who was a second generation migrant or displaced person in further recruitment. No changes were required for the interview schedule.

Although I assessed potential interviewees for inclusion in the study on first phone contact, by going through a number of questions relating to whether their families migrated to Australia between the years 1947-1952 as refugees, if they were of Polish and/or German descent. I found that this screening was not fail-proof. Due to a lack of information about parental migration, on my part as well as the interviewees, I realised that three did not meet the criteria. These interviewees have not been included in the analysis with the 2nd generation DPs but I have included their information in Appendix 3.

The interviews took place mainly in the interviewees' homes and lasted from one to two hours. They were digitally and tape recorded for later transcription and analysis. All participants agreed to be recorded though, initially, some were conscious of the recorder during the interview[15]. In the preliminary meeting, each interviewee was provided with and asked to read through an information sheet outlining details about myself and the research before signing a consent form to take part in the study (Appendix 1b)

In my initial interviews, I asked questions broadly based upon personal and family background and their experiences of the immigration policies of assimilation, integration, and multiculturalism. The questions are outlined in the interview schedule in Appendix 1c.

[15] The interviews were taped on a mini-cassette, backed up by digital recorder. Problems with this method were that the digital recorder would cease recording once it was full and I had to keep a constant supply of batteries available, plus it was distracting having to turn over the mini-cassette tape during the interview. This problem was later solved for the focus groups by recording on the *iphone* which had unlimited recording space and then transferring to the computer.

I triangulated my interview data for content by providing my supervisor with randomly selected interviews to see whether her understanding of the interviews was similar to my own. We agreed that, because many of the first few interviewees did not seem to grasp my questions on assimilation in regard to themselves, further interviews on this topic needed to be reframed to a more general, or broader, format. I then slightly altered the way in which I approached the questions. Rather than asking directly about assimilation, my questions were framed more broadly around some of the factors of assimilation, such as language, community, family culture, and ethnic identity.

As interviews progressed, the questions were modified further to suit the emerging themes, as is usual in a grounded theory study (Jacobsen et al, 2007; Kvale, 1996). They took a more personal slant as the focus shifted away from the immigration policies and more towards family dynamics, and interviewees' early experiences of growing up as Australians.

Focus groups

The in-depth interviews were followed up by two focus groups with invited interviewees from the main cohort and were on the topic of resilience. Three focus groups were planned as I wished to include interviewees from regional centres and I anticipated that there might be some group differences. The groups were planned for Fremantle, Bunbury, and Northam. The Fremantle group took place first and was the largest. Six of the 11 invited people attended. This focus group contained what researchers consider the optimal number, which is 6-10 participants (Rabiee, 2004). For the Bunbury meeting there were only 3 people invited, being the total number of interviewees for that location. Even though less than the optimal size of 6-10, the smaller size group is consistent with the opinion of researchers who suggest that for simple questions only three or four participants are necessary (Rabiee, 2004). The Northam focus group did not take place as only one of the 5 invited participants was able or willing to participate.

Prior to commencing the focus groups, the intended questions were piloted with volunteers from the university, that is, four other doctoral candidates of varying gender, ages and ethnic backgrounds. The feedback from the pilot focus group lead to some changes in format and the questions asked, as it was felt that some questions

were not clear. Potential participants were invited and provided with details of the location and time of the focus group.

The Fremantle focus group was held on a Saturday in a private room at the Curtin campus in Fremantle where it was quiet and we would not be disturbed. I facilitated this focus group with the assistance of a moderator with focus group experience. The moderator was also of Eastern European background so the participants were able to relate to her as well. Having set the ground rules of the group and establishing that each person would have an opportunity to contribute, but that no-one would be pressured to do so, each person, including myself and the assistant moderator, gave a brief introduction of ourselves. Additionally, participants were given the choice of whether the assistant moderator/scribe (who had agreed to this) should remain during the focus group and they were agreeable to this.

The second focus group took place in the Bunbury public library in a private study room. This was a small group of three participants, though still large enough to gather data and for interaction between the participants and myself. The Bunbury group comprised two female and one male participant, the total interviewees from that region. As the Bunbury group was so small and travel was involved, I did not require an assistant moderator. While it was disappointing that the third focus group did not take place, there was sufficient data to inform the research regarding resilience.

The focus group program was the same for both groups (see Appendix 1d) for focus group interview schedule). I introduced the topic of resilience, allowed time for the participants to react to this topic and relate their experiences or understandings of the term and what they thought it meant; whether it applied to them, or whether there is a more apt description than resilience. The focus groups were recorded, transcribed, and analysed separately from the in-depth interviews.

Transcription

A primary concern in this research was my motivation to act as a conduit for this cohort, which includes myself. As a researcher, I felt the responsibility of giving a voice to this cohort whose experiences have scarcely been documented or understood. Both Grele (1998) and Strauss and Corbin (1998) state clearly that this is the researcher's role and I have endeavoured to carry it out with integrity. Unfortunately, this is easier said than done due to the nature of the interview analysis, which is primarily based upon transcribed data.

I am in agreement with Portelli (1998) that "The transcript turns aural objects into visual ones, which inevitably implies changes and interpretation" (p.64). Portelli likens the analysis of the transcript of an interview to doing art criticism on reproductions. He states that the intonation, language, and rhythm of speech are not able to be reproduced in a transcript and thus this affects interpretation. I felt that the absence of the voice in the research findings detracts from the outcomes as the transcript cannot reflect the person faithfully.

As my interviewees were assured of confidentiality, using either their actual voices or images, both certain identifiers, in my thesis would infringe that confidentially, so could not be done [16]. Consequently, I have tried to capture the meaning of the dialogue and the voice of the interviewee as closely as possible in my transcript. I did this by following the tempo, pauses, hesitations and accent of the interviewees' speech patterns. However, this caused some confusion and even embarrassment to a few of the interviewees on reading their transcript, not because they came across badly but because they were not used to reading literal speech. This was an important point for me as a researcher as I did not want to demean my interviewees, nor distract them from the transcript. I have dealt with this issue by partial edit of the transcripts. That is, by removing the unnecessary utterances, such as "ums and ahs" and repetition that has no meaning yet managing to keep the speech characteristics.

Analysis

The analysis of this research was carried out in conjunction with the data collection as per the grounded theory method of constant comparison (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Interviews were coded using Nvivo10, a qualitative database program said to be compatible with grounded theory, (Gibbs, 2004) to tease out the categories and themes in the data. The grounded theory convention is to code data in steps. I began by: a) "open coding", during which different categories were identified within interviews; then b) axial coding, in which categories were refined to find relationships between them; and finally c) selective coding where the overarching concepts linked these categories together to form the theory (Salada, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998).

[16] I presented a paper at the 2010 Curtin Humanities Postgraduate conference where I spoke of the how the transcript loses meaning without the voice – or how the voice tells so much more than the transcript. To demonstrate, I used voices from my interviews, with the permission of the interviewees to do so.

Research issues

Although qualitative research has become well established in its methodologies, there are areas within the conduct of this particular type of studies which may still be seen by more positivistic researchers as methodological weaknesses. Therefore, I feel these issues need to be addressed. The issues to which I refer relate to the interviewing and analysis, specifically: memory in interviews; interviewer/interviewee relationship; and interviewer bias. The issues of validity and ethics are also discussed in relation to the cohort.

Memory

Memory is fundamental to the quality of in-depth interviews. It is especially important when the aim is to source an individual's personal experiences, as these serve to reveal the personal and social context of their past and so are also of historical significance (Ritchie, 2003, p.19). Memory serves as a guide, and is influenced by external factors surrounding each event that is recalled by the interviewees. Therefore, total accuracy of individual memory in this research was a secondary consideration to the uniqueness of individual experience and the meaning that the interviewees drew from their experiences. Portelli (1986) in writing on oral history and memory states that "what is really important is that memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings" (p.69). Grele (1998) takes a different slant on memory by stating that the problem in qualitative interviews is not faulty memory but too much memory, which may overwhelm the interviewee (pp.48-49).

On a more pragmatic level, I felt that memories from the source could be more valuable than many documentary sources, which are often second hand versions of past events, and arising from a hegemonic source. That is, led by government institutions and researchers who focus on members of the dominant society rather than taking a more holistic, more inclusive view of those past events.

What I anticipated could be a complication of memory when interviewing about the past was the effect of collective memory. The Popular Memory Group (1998) state that collective memory can be formed in both the public and private spheres but that different stories become more dominant as collective memory can be manipulated by

both media and politics. This was demonstrated in a study on the ANZAC[17] legend which described how veterans who did not relate to the collective, and popular, "heroic legend" were forced into a silence where they had to hide their pain rather than challenge the collective memory (Green, 2008).

I was concerned that the public (collective) memory could have influenced my interviewees' personal memories, or that like the ANZAC veterans, my interviewees would not want to disclose anything that they felt went against the public myth of the 2nd generation migrant or their families. This would have meant that they would conceal painful, yet relevant, events or feelings about their experiences. I was already aware of the collective beliefs about 2nd generation migrants in the Australian community and their possible influence on the interviews. I wished to obtain the individual, not public, memories (Ritchie, 2003, p.37). Yet, as far as I was aware, while there were collective beliefs about 2nd generation migrant children in general, mainly to do with their assimilation and education, there was no actual public or collective memory specifically about 2nd generation DPs.

Interviewer/Interviewee relationship

According to Holstein & Gubrium (1995) having background knowledge provides sensitivity to the interview context as it can be an "invaluable resource for assisting respondents to explore and describe their circumstances, actions, and feelings" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p.45). As I had the same ethnic/DP background, though not necessarily the same experiences, as my interviewees, I saw myself as a group "insider". As such, I believed that I possessed an in-depth background knowledge and understanding of my interviewees which would result in richer, fuller life histories from them. As Chavez (2008) claims: "Insiders can understand the cognitive, emotional, and/or psychological precepts of participants as well as possess a more profound knowledge of the historical and practical happenings of the field" (p.481).

My one-on-one interviews began based on the assumption that, as an insider, I would have an automatic connection with my interviewees due to our common

[17] Australian New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC). The legend of the ANZACs and their "glorious" defeat on the shores of Gallipolli, Turkey in the Frist World War, has become part of the Australian legend, being epitomised as the first time Australians not only fought as a united force, but against unbeatable odds, thus giving the Australian soldiers heroic status. The Gallipolli defeat has come to symbolise, in Australia, what is known as the "ANZAC spirit", that is, as a representation of the core elements of bravery, mateship, and fearlessness of Australians (males).

backgrounds. I soon learned that the *assumption of identification* with my interviewees was actually a more complex issue than I had realised. I hoped that my interviewees would naturally identify with me as an "insider" and engage with me as a consequence, so it was essential that I presented myself as such. That said, there are degrees of background knowledge and my insider knowledge was experiential rather than academic which made it so important yet so tenuous within the shifting interview context (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Additionally, having background knowledge did not guarantee that the meaning I attributed to events in the interview would exactly match that of the interviewees and I acknowledge that my background knowledge/experiences influenced my reactions to the stories and meanings which were constructed during dialogue with my interviewees (Guba & Lincoln, 2004; Kinchloe & McLaren, 1998; Schram, 2003).

Interestingly, I found that my dual ethnicity was both an advantage and a disadvantage. Those of German heritage identified more with me due to my German mother, especially when their other parent was Eastern European as mine was. However, with those of Polish/Polish heritage, cases of non-identification occasionally arose when they discovered that, even though I had a Polish parent, I had little knowledge of Polish tradition and could not speak the language. Another factor, which did not surprise me, was a strong identification in some interviewees of being Australian and resistance to the idea of identifying with any other ethnicity.

Ultimately, however, identification and differences came down to personality and differing life experiences, also affected by generational variances within my cohort and between myself and my interviewees. This perhaps, proves the point that even though I was part of the cohort, "no matter how close the researcher might come to be in the quest for authenticity, he or she does not (and as a researcher cannot) fully belong to that other world" (Pearson, cited in Hobbs & May, 2002, p.xi).

Ambivalence within insider interviewing became apparent to Chavez (2008) when researching her own family. She found that while her insider position and knowledge were advantageous for access to informants they also complicated the implementation of her research; for example, other relatives seeing the interviews as a family occasion, and so interrupting its flow. She also discussed the shifts within the interview where the rapport between interviewer and interviewee can suddenly change due to a social distance between them. I myself experienced this during some interviews and wonder now whether this may have been due to another factor in

insider interviewing, that of the in-group and out-group; for example, according to degree of likeness between interviewer and interviewee or as Chavez (2008) puts it "You are like me but with some differences" or "you are more unlike me than like me" (p.478). For the most part, however, there was a tacit *recognition of my insider status* by the interviewees, which, I believe, enabled them to speak relatively freely.

The role of interviewer and the issue of *power within interviews* is a matter of some debate among researchers. Whilst agreeing that interview interaction produces knowledge, there is debate over who is in control of the interview and therefore the knowledge produced. Ritchie (2003, p.29) sees the interviewer as less equal due to the value of information being reliant upon the interviewee. Others see the interviewer as a "privileged inquirer" with a duty to respect the interviewee's integrity (Weiss, 1994, p.65) and therefore in charge of the interview process (Kvale, 1996; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Within the interviews I noticed an emergent underlying text. There was an assumption of background knowledge and familiarity of context, for example, family context or being part of a migrant community, on both sides. This came out in the language of our conversations. Australian-born Anglo-Saxon friends were referred to as "the Aussies", "the Aussie kids" terms such "the migrants" "us migrants" were commonly used in interviews to differentiate from mainstream Australian society, "Australians"; and ethnic food and traditions spoken of with the confidence that I was familiar with the cuisine and traditional practices. The commonality of religion, Roman Catholic for most, was also assumed and, in this case, rightly so. Therefore, this was an inclusive relationship in which the nuances were understood by both parties to the interview.

The context and language were so familiar that it never occurred to me to question this until later in the interviewing, to ensure a common meaning. I believe that, had I not had the insider background this underlying text would probably not have come through in the interview. For example, when I asked one interviewee what she meant by "Australian" she confirmed my understanding of an "Australian" being of Anglo-Saxon heritage rather than European heritage and born in Australia as opposed to European-born. "You know, born here. Local Australians". This, to me, highlighted the interviewer/interviewee effect on dialogue during interviews when both belong to the same cohort. The question then was whether this is a means of power or influence within the interview situation.

Interviewer bias

The declaration of bias in qualitative research is, I believe, a complex issue. Given that this was the first meeting between the interviewees and myself, and, in some cases, their "gatekeepers", the first priority was to establish some rapport, so I did not feel it appropriate to declare my biases upfront. This would have set up boundaries for the interviewees and influenced what they felt comfortable to vocalise, although I am sure any biases may have been apparent during the interview. Additionally, sometimes I was not even aware of biases until confronted by them during interview.

Kvale (1996) states that: "The interviewer must establish an atmosphere in which the subject feels safe enough to talk freely about his or her experiences and feelings" (Kvale, 1996, p.126; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Due to the interactive and intimate nature of the interview method the onus was upon me to ensure rapport with a virtual stranger in a very short period of time (Corbin & Morse, 2003). I was also guided by the principle that: "*The creative interviewer recognizes his own humanity as the beginning of the understanding of all human beings"* (Douglas, 1985, p.42).

I am not sure whether or not my insider status caused an asymmetry of power. In my interviews I could occasionally feel when I was broaching an area of sensitivity, sometimes, too, unaware until feeling the shift in open-ness from the interviewee. As I was a stranger to all at the time of interview I perceived this change as more self-protective rather than a deliberate bid for power in interview. Additionally, sensitive issues were raised by interviewees without my prompting and I can only assume that this was due to my insider/researcher position. Or, perhaps it was due to the interviewee finally having the opportunity to speak freely of their experiences.

However, although I was an insider in this cohort, there was still some underlying caution on the part of a few interviewees. On more than one occasion I presented myself at the interviewee's home to find that they had requested a spouse or other close family member to be present at the interview. On most occasions this was because the husband or wife had both retired and were at home, making this in some ways similar to a social occasion. However, on a few occasions when this occurred, it turned out that the interviewee needed support as there had been sensitive issues which had occurred in their early life. In at least three cases, the support person, who acted in some ways as a "gatekeeper", also contributed, with verbal consent from the interviewee and support person, and this shed further light upon the interviewee's experiences or background.

Validity

The issue of validity in qualitative research is one which must be addressed as, unlike quantitative research, checks for validity cannot be built into the initial design. Maxwell (2009) names two broad areas affecting validity; researcher bias and reactivity (p.243). Researcher bias can affect the way in which data is collected and used, particularly when the researcher leans toward a particular theoretical stance or preconceived ideas. Reactivity is when measures are taken to try to eliminate the researcher bias.

As a qualitative researcher who is also aligned with my cohort, it would be remarkable if there was no personal bias affecting this research. However, the issue is whether this has been detrimental to the research or has affected its validity. Some researchers believe that this is not a major flaw as long as the researcher is aware of how they are affecting the data (Maxwell, 2009). Additionally, it is thought impossible to eliminate researcher influence over the interview as this is a joint production between interviewer and interviewee, guided by the interviewer.

Although I had to accept that my presence and biases would have some influence over the interviews, I still took the following steps to increase the validity of the research: a) discussing with the interviewee beforehand what the interview would be about in general; b) transcribed interviews were given to the interviewees to check for accuracy and validity; c) triangulation of data, that is: checking information from documentary and archival sources such as dates and times of arrival in Australia; interviewee or their family location on arrival in Australia; schools attended; mode of arrival in Australia; and using my own experiences and knowledge to validate those of interviewees (Maxwell, 2009, pp. 244-245) In fact, in many interviews, the participants brought out their documentation to show me and to include as part of their narrative. However, recorded facts such as which ship their DP parents arrived in Australia, were easily checked and found to be accurate.

Ethics

Due to the potentially sensitive nature of the research, Human Research Ethics approval from Curtin University was sought and obtained prior to the commencement of any interviews. The purpose of seeking ethics approval was to ensure that the research process adhered to the principle of *beneficence*, that is, of my interviewees being exposed to least possible harm (Kvale, 1996, p. 116). There was a possibility that the interviews may have brought up past traumas for some

participants. A study on the benefits and harm caused by open-ended interviewing concluded that:

> Although there is evidence that qualitative interviews may cause some emotional distress, there is no indication that this distress is any greater than in everyday life or that it requires follow-up counselling (sic), although the authors acknowledge distress is always a possibility…. When research is conducted with sensitivity and guided by ethics, it becomes a process with benefits to both participants and researchers (Corbin & Morse, 2003, p.335).

It was stipulated by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee that a list of counselling services be provided to each interviewee together with the research information sheet that they were to be given. I therefore attached to the informant sheet a comprehensive list of different counselling services, including emergency and 24 hour phone contacts in case the participant had any issues come up during or after the interview. Additionally, interviewees were assured of confidentiality, with their names or obvious identifiers to be removed from the thesis (see Appendix 1C). They were also given the option to withdraw from the study or retract parts of their transcript, once they had reviewed it, without providing a reason. The interviewee information form also stated that the recorded interview would be safely archived for a period of 7 years prior to being disposed of. While two of the interviewees indicated they had no problems with being identified, I decided against doing this as all other interviewees were given confidentiality. The main reason for taking these measures was to protect my interviewees from being disadvantaged due to their participation in this study (Weiss, 1994).

However, there are *issues with the ethics process* affecting qualitative research. Firstly: the operational model of research used by ethics committees assumes that the researcher has power over the informant, that is, that the informant is vulnerable (Jacobsen, Gewurtza, & Haydon, 2007). As discussed above, the researcher/researched relationship in qualitative research is in a constant state of flux, with power shifting from one to other during interview, so this assumption does not always apply.

Secondly, the ethics process seems to overlook the issue of researcher vulnerability. This is the subject of a paper by two PhD researchers who became aware of their professional vulnerability during their research. Their literature review on researcher vulnerability showed that studies on this topic related mainly to: personal vulnerability due to emotional intensity during interview; working in marginal sub-populations; and through empathising with their informants (Ballamingie & Johnson, 2011).

I approached the issue of power imbalance (interviewee vulnerability) during the interview from a pragmatist point of view. First, I considered that the interviewee had something they wished to reveal to me, so in effect I was their spokesperson. One the other hand, they realised that I needed their input for my research. So I was indebted to them for their information as well as reliant upon the authenticity of their stories. To my mind, this made us equal in the interview process. Even though probing questions were often asked, I had to respect that there were things they did not want to disclose. This happened on at least two occasions, both in interview and on transcript checking. If I could feel the person was uncomfortable about disclosing certain information I had to respect their decision not to. The same applied when interviewees wished to change or erase sections of their transcripts. On one occasion, the requested erasure of large parts of the transcript resulted in a watering down of the interviewee's experiences but it was more important that the participant felt safe in knowing that this information was not publically revealed.

The second issue was more difficult to deal with. Many of the stories touched me deeply. The difficult circumstances within which some of my cohort had to grow up were beyond my own experience. Yet, when they spoke of family issues it brought back many uncomfortable feelings and stresses from the past. That I was also dealing with an elderly parent who was now reliving the repressed experiences of war made it very difficult for me emotionally. Yet, in order to tell my interviewees' stories as separate from my own I had to focus on their experiences and not mine. I dealt with this issue by debriefing with a professional counsellor. A third issue, that of informed consent in qualitative research is problematic. For example, in grounded theory, the research agenda and direction change as new information is uncovered (Kvale, 1996). This means that the consent form must be carefully framed to allow for this eventuality.

Scope and limitations of the study

The scope of this study was limited by access to 2nd generation DPs from Polish and/or German background now living in Western Australia. This was due to a number of factors:

- geographical distance within Western Australia, which meant that I chose to limit the geographical area of travel to Augusta, approximately 300 kilometres Southwest of Perth as, for me, this was a reasonable limit to drive in one day;
- the sporadic nature of response to my advertisements as well as geographical distance meant that, at times, I had to schedule two interviews on one day, and sometimes consecutive days, instead of having the time to fully digest information between interviews;
- this study is not representative of all 2nd generation DPs but is specific to this cohort, who have volunteered or agreed to be interviewed. Therefore, the results of the interviews would have a different focus, perhaps, if the study had been carried out by survey or with a different cohort of 2nd generation DPs;
- even though many interviewees brought out documents and photos to assist in the interview, which would have enriched the thesis, I felt unable to include these, as all interviewees had been assured of confidentiality;
- thirty-three interviews were carried out for this study, 30 of which were used in the analysis. Even though this study was exploratory, and limited in time, cost, and scope, a case study approach using fewer interviews could have been carried out to provide even greater depth.

Summary

The methodology for this study was qualitative, meaning that it was built upon the notion that each person has their own unique version of what is the truth of any situation, and based upon their memories of events looking back through time. The exploratory grounded theory approach, with in-depth interviews, was the chosen methodology as there was/is very little known about this particular cohort. Concurrent analysis took place with interviews to allow for thematic content to emerge from the interview data. From this, focus groups were carried out to explore

an emerging concept and analysed specifically to this cohort. Ethical challenges of this are discussed as well as the way in which they were met. Finally, the limitations of the study are outlined. The following chapter “Migration background” gives an outline of the post-WWII situation in Europe which lead to DPs migrating to Australia as refugees, and the circumstances under which they were accepted as migrants. This background chapter is important as it enables the 2nd generation experiences to be viewed through their context.

Chapter 3: Migration background

"To go forward you may first need to go back"[18]

This study is about post-WWII Two 2nd generation DPs who are now living in Western Australia. To appreciate the context of this cohort, it is important to outline the migration history of their parents, the DPs who migrated to Australia post-World War Two.

In this chapter, I provide an outline of: factors which were responsible for the DPs migrating to Australia, from the perspective of both the refugees and host country; initial arrival and; settlement process in Western Australia within the contexts of social and geographic environments; culture and assimilation; occupational and economic factors; and mental health issues.

While there were other European migrants who came to Australia during this period and who also worked alongside the DPs in infrastructure projects and in some cases shared their experiences, I do not discuss voluntary migrants, as the purpose of this chapter is specifically to provide the context of the 2nd generation DPs and their experiences of growing up in Australia in DP families.

Australia – immigration nation

The immigration programs that began post-WWII set the pattern for Australia to become known as an immigration nation, albeit that the restrictive and openly racist Immigration Act 1901, known as the White Australia Policy, excluded many people on racial grounds at this point in time[19] . This Act was changed in 1973 to remove racial restrictions, and in 1975, the Racial Discrimination Act was passed by the

[18] This thought came to me one day, early in my research, when I was attempting to enter a shopping centre and had to walk backwards to activate the doors' opening mechanism. I thought how appropriate it was to my study, and a great simile for having to explore the background context of my cohort in order to understand their experiences. Interestingly, Magda Szubanski (2015) in her recently published biography of her father uses almost the same words to explain why it was important to record his story when she asks "Is healing even possible?...He needed to forget. I need to remember…For me, the key lies buried in the past. The only way forward is back" (p.13).

[19] This Immigration Restriction Policy (White Australia Policy) became notorious for the extremely biased and exclusionary dictation test in which anyone applying for immigration to Australia had to pass a written dictation test which could be administered in any language chosen by the examiners. This, of course, was to exclude non-British and non-"White" immigration. The dictation test was a Commonwealth piece of legislation enacted in 1901, the same year as Australia's Federation. It was abolished in 1958, a few years after the DPs arrived in Australia but the White Australia policy continued in a modified form into the 1960s until it was officially abolished in 1975 (Jupp, 1998,pp74-75).

Australian Parliament. This was at the same time as the Indochinese refugees, or "boat people" as they were known, began their flight from Vietnam, with many fleeing to Australia (Jupp, 1998) Yet, even though Australia is known as a multicultural nation, made up of migrants from many different ethnicities, British migrants continued to be the largest assisted passage group for the 30 years following the Second World War (Jupp, 1988, p.103).

Appleyard's (1955) article "Displaced Persons in Western Australia" clearly demonstrates the massive intake of migrants during the period January 1947 to December 1953. The total number of immigrants to Australia during that period was 772,628[20] with 427,603 being "assisted" migrants, which included the DPs, and 345,025 as "full-fare" migrants (p.64). The Displaced Persons made up 22.09 percent (170,695) of total number of migrants and 71.96 percent of the non-British migrants (Appleyard, 1955, p.64).

The DPs, the first of the post-WWII mass migrations differed from successive migrants, such as the majority of the Southern European migrants from the 1950s who came as to Australia as economic migrants (Jupp, 1988). The Southern European mode of migration to Australia, and other countries, became known as "chain migration" (Baldassar, 2001; Castles et al, 1998; Collins, 1991; Iulianno, 2010; Peters, 2001; Price 2000b; Yiannakis, 2009). That is, where particular family members, usually males, migrated to another country then, once settled in, sponsored other family members to migrate. According to Hollinsworth (1998) chain migration "saw whole families and sometimes villages uprooted and relocated in Australia" (p.235) which explains why the Italian presence became so dominant in Australian migration, even though most Italians were not government assisted migrants (Collins, 1991). Many of the chain migrants continued to maintain links with their villages and families in Europe and visits by family, especially Australian-born, were part of this linkage (Baldassar, Jupp, 1988; Peters, 2001). In comparison, while some DPs were able to keep contact with their families in Germany, Poland and other Eastern bloc countries, communication with the Eastern European countries was

[20] The exact figure for the number of displaced persons arriving in Australia post-WWII is uncertain. Jean Martin (1965), in her book *Refuge Settlers* gives the figure as 182,159 between July 1947 and December 1951, which is much greater than the number given by Appleyard (1955) for the years 1947-1953.

stifled by censorship and uncertainty[21]. Additionally, at this time communication with Australia was slow and difficult, only wealthy people owned telephones and were able to afford to call overseas, and letters took several weeks to reach their destination (Peters, 2001).

The move to obtain migrants to fill labour needs continued for some years beyond the cessation of the DP immigration, so the Australian government released its restriction upon "enemy aliens" and provided assistance to migrants from Italy. Australia had earlier, in 1951, already signed an immigration agreement with the Netherlands. Agreements with other countries, including West Germany, Greece, and Austria followed in 1952 (Jupp, 1998; Lack and Templeton, 1995; Peters, 2001). By this stage the IRO program had almost run its course in Australia before being phased out internationally in 1953, though the search for new migrants continued. Freeman and Jupp, (1992) state that:

> Assisted European migration was arranged under a series of government-to-government agreements, such as with Malta (1948); Italy and The Netherlands (1951); West Germany, Austria and Greece (1952); Spain (1958); Turkey (1967); and Yugoslavia (1970). The agreements detailed the forms of assistance, numbers, and services to be rendered on arrival (p.5).

The source -Displaced Persons post- World War Two

There were almost 20 million displaced Germans and 8-12 million non-Germans in Europe at the end of WWII (Kunz, 1988, p.29). Displacement even extended beyond Europe as far as Australia, where Italian and German Prisoners of War were sent to work as forced labour, to Africa, where the Allies had set up refuges for the, mainly, Polish refugees rescued from Russia. Countries such as Iran, India, and small nations bordering the former Soviet Union, were where the Polish slave labourers and their families fled Russia when freed (Allbrook & Cattalini, 1995)[22]. Within Europe,

[21] As a child I recall my father receiving a letter from Poland. This was a rare event. I remember that the letter was heavily redacted and, for some reason, my father was very upset after reading this letter.

[22] When the Russian-German alliance fell apart in 1941, the Russian government aligned with the Allies. As a result of this, all Polish prisoners in Russia were released, though with the expectation that the Polish males would form a Polish Army under General Anders in Europe to fight with the Russians against Germany. However, most of the released prisoners, who had to make their own way home, took the opportunity to escape from Russian territory.

displaced persons consisted of not only persons whose countries had been invaded, but also German soldiers and civilians, including the *Volksdeutsche*[23], who fled in the path of the fighting (Kulischer, 1949). Kulischer, (1949) described the chaotic movement of persons displaced by the war. People fled their homes in front of the German armies; prisoners of war and slave labourers were taken to Germany and Russia, ethnic Germans were displaced from remote German colonies, border ethnic groups, such as the Poles, were expelled from their homes; German cities were evacuated due to bombing by American and British Air Forces (p.168). He recorded the number of German refugees as being approximately 9.5 million (p.168).

At the end of the war, (1946), all but 1.6 million had been repatriated or moved on. Those remaining were mainly the displaced persons from Eastern Europe, most of whom had been brought forcibly to Germany but were unable and unwilling to return to their Soviet occupied countries following the War (Holborn, 1975; Kunz, 1988; Murphy, 1993). The Soviet bloc would not be persuaded against forced repatriation and accused the Allies in the United Nations of violating the Soviet right to control their own nationals. Also, they claimed that the Allied West was "providing refuge for war criminals and traitors who should be returned for just punishment" (Proudfoot, 1956, p.401). With this punitive attitude towards the DPs from Eastern Europe, there was little that could be done to persuade them to return to Soviet rule so they then became, officially, political refugees, thus creating logistical and economic problems for the European nations that were harbouring them.

Most displaced persons in Germany of non-German descent were people who had been abducted from their homes and from the streets and sent to Germany to be used as either forced or slave labour to work, initially in agriculture and forestry and later in industry and mining (Jupp, 1988; Peters, 2001). There were in Germany, during the war, 8.3 million foreign workers and working prisoners of war, making up approximately one third of the German workforce by 1943 (Proudfoot, 1956, pp.85-86). Many of the DPs and migrants who came to Australia were among these foreign workers.

By the end of the war, most of the displaced persons had been repatriated or relocated through the services of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

[23] These were people of German heritage who had been living in parts of Russia and Eastern Europe, some for many generations, and were forced out of their homes when Allied and Russian forces reclaimed the territory in which they lived. Many fled to Germany for refuge.

Administration (UNRRA)[24], leaving, in Europe, just over 4 million refugees still awaiting placement (Kunz, 1988). A significant number were Polish nationals, making up 56% of all known refugees. The largest number of Polish refugees (800,000) was in Germany, with 25,000 in Austria, and 150,000 in other parts of Western Europe, especially France. There were also 20,000 Polish refugees in Africa, approximately 5,000 in India, 4,000 in Iran and approximately 200,000 in Britain[25] (Kunz, 1988, p.79). Six hundred thousand Poles returned to Poland from Western Europe but others moved West out of Poland. Among the returnees were a number of Poles who had been forcibly repatriated in the initial stages of the Soviet rule[26] (Kunz, 1988, p.80).

One year later - 1946, despite the massive repatriation effort, there remained in Europe the problem of an estimated 1.6 million non-repatriable refugees in the holding camps, mainly in Austria, Germany and France[27] (Collins, 1991; Holborn, 1975). The reasons for this, especially for the Polish DPs, were: reluctance to live under Soviet rule due to the Russian treatment of Poles during the war; no homes or family to return to; fear of retaliation by both Soviet and fellow country people because of their roles in the war either fighting for the Allies or working for the Germans, even if forced to do so (Borrie, 1994; Gruba, 2006; Holborn, 1975; Kunz, 1988; Murphy, 1993). This feeling of "horror" in response to the USSR was exacerbated by Soviet persecution of returnees. There was a general assumption in Soviet lands that all returnees, particularly POW but even forced labourers, had been Nazi collaborators. Those forced to return met with "complicated, often crippled fates" (Grinchenko, 2007, cited in Persian, 2011).

> Historian Tony Judt[28] has estimated that one in five Soviet returnees were either shot or deported to the Gulag. Others were turned back at the border by state officials, while many DPs received letters from family members warning them not to travel home (Persian, 2012, p.486).

[24] UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) resettled the displaced persons during and immediately after the War. International relocation of refugees was not part of the organisation's duty so it was later replaced, firstly by the Preparatory Committee for the International refugee Organisation (PCIRO) which was in existence until the International Refugee Organisation was ready to commence operation.

[25] The Polish refugees in Africa, India and Iran were the refugees from Russia while Polish refugees in Britain were mainly Polish servicemen who were fighting with the Allies.

[26] Forced repatriation to Poland and other parts of the new Soviet bloc was eventually ceased due to the number of suicides by Poles and Russians who faced the fear of persecution and death on their return. The Soviet Union had issued an order that those acting against it during the war would be tried as war criminals. (Proudfoot, 1956)

[27] The real number of refugees is not known as they were widely dispersed with some refugees finding their own accommodation and employment and who did not register as DPs.

[28] A British historian who specialised in European post-war history.

The IRO was set up in 1946 specifically to resettle these refugees in other countries, where their labour was sought to build infrastructure and where they could start their lives anew. The IRO was established on 1st July 1947 as a temporary organisation for the resettlement of refugees still remaining in Europe and ceased operations in 1953. (Holborn, 1975). During this period the IRO was responsible for resettling almost two million refugees worldwide (Kunz, 1988, p.29)

Appleyard (1955) gave a breakdown of the different groups of DPs who came to Australia post-WWII, who he described as: "original" displaced persons. The first group was the people who were taken from their homelands and used as forced or slave labour in Germany. He estimated the number of this group as about 9 million. Approximately 8 million were repatriated after the war. The second group were mainly Eastern Europeans who were fleeing from the newly established Soviet rule in their homelands, so were political refugees. The third group were people who had fought with Germany against Russia, whether voluntary or forced, and were afraid to return to Soviet jurisdiction. These people were refugees fearful of persecution or harm if they returned to their homes (p.63).

Australia's DPs

Australia, as a member nation of the IRO was one of a number of countries offering post-war permanent resettlement to European refugees[29]. Between the years 1947 to 1952, over 170,000 displaced persons from Europe, consisting predominantly of Eastern Europeans, were brought to Australia as migrants through the IRO (Appleyard, 1955; Collins, 1991; Kunz, 1988; Lack and Templeton, 1995). Per capita, Australia was second to the USA in the number of DPs accepted for resettlement (Kunz, 1988, p.253).

Initially, the DPs were not even considered as potential immigrants. Their entry into Australia resulted from a number of interrelating factors, the root of which was Australia's geographical isolation from the other Allied nations, specifically, Britain and the US. Given this isolation, there was concern about national security in the Oceania region due to the recent outcomes for Australian troops in Singapore, Burma and Thailand during the war. Among events which kindled an ever present fear of Asian invasion were the Darwin and Broome bombings by the Japanese (Birrell and

[29] The other countries offering resettlement were: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, United Kingdom, and the United States of America (Kunz, 1988).

Birrell, 1987; Collins, 1991; Jackson, 1979; Jupp, 1988; Kunz, 1988; Lack and Templeton, 1995; Martin, 1965; Peters, 2000; 2001).

Faced with the realities of potential invasion by the Japanese during the Second World War and the inadequacy of the Australian Forces to protect such a vast area of land and sea, the necessity to rapidly build a much greater population became a government priority. Additionally, there were shortages in housing, schools and hospitals, essential supplies in primary industry, and physical[30] infrastructure was run down (Australian Information Services Publication, Immigration, Canberra, 1973, p.7 cited in Collins, 1991, p.21). Therefore, labour was also urgently required. Australian demographers of that time predicted that to obtain a current and future workforce large enough to build and continue to maintain infrastructure in the country required a population growth of two percent per annum; they calculated that this could be achieved by boosting the static one percent natural population growth with one percent immigration. The target population increase was 70,000 per year over the next 30 years (Lack and Templeton, 1995; Rowse, 2005).

It was initially assumed that immigrants would be British. Unlike the DPs and the European migrants who followed immediately in their footsteps, the British migrants would not be expected to work in infrastructure projects such as where the DPs were later allocated, and would be encouraged to settle, with their families, in populated areas to work in industrial, rather than agricultural and infrastructure developments (Jupp, 1988, p.103; Kunz, 1988, p.3). To orchestrate this process, the Commonwealth Department for Immigration was established in 1945, with Federal Labor Minister Arthur Calwell as the first Australian Minister for Immigration, expanding the Department to the other Australian States in 1946 (Collins, 1991; Jupp, 1988; Peters, 2001).

Recruitment to attract British migrants was intensive and incentives included assisted and free passage schemes. However, the campaigns failed to attract anywhere near the anticipated number of new settlers, with the main obstacles to the scheme being: a world-wide shipping shortage; sponsorship from within Australia was required; and there were sufficient employment opportunities in infrastructure projects in Britain and Europe. Successive attempts to attract immigrants from Western Europe and Scandinavia were unsuccessful (Jupp, 1988; Lack and Templeton, 1995; Peters, 2001). The inevitable solution was to recruit migrants from the pool of refugees still

[30] By physical infrastructure I mean things which are built, such as roads, railways, buildings.

in Europe who were awaiting placement. Though there were practical reasons guiding this decision it also allowed the Australian government, as a member of the IRO, to fulfil its humanitarian role.

Understanding the resistance there would be in Australia over this recruitment of "aliens" or "reffos" as they were later called, a further campaign was set in place to persuade Australians of the necessity to bring in the DPs. Playing on the Australian public's fear of the Yellow Peril[31], the Minister for Immigration's motto of "we must fill this country or lose it", epitomised by the popular slogan "populate or perish" was the basis of an intense campaign to induce the Australian public to accept the proposed large-scale migration (Lack and Templeton, 1995). To allay Australian fears of being overrun by European refugees, they were promised that for every one DP there would be 10 British migrants, and that only those refugees of sound body and mind would be accepted. Australian Unions, concerned about mass migration threatening the jobs of Union members, were placated by Caldwell who reassured them that two-year indenture systems for the DPs meant that they would not compete with Australians for scarce jobs and housing. This promise by Caldwell ensured that the DPs were allocated work in unfilled and unwanted jobs, which were mainly in remote regions (Collins, 1991, p.22).

Initially, recruitment of DPs to Australia was hindered by the selection preference for young healthy males in competition with the US, which also sought DP labour (Collins, 1991, p.22). To become more competitive in the DP labour market, Australia in 1949 opened its doors to young families, though age was still restricted to single males 16-45 years of age, single females 16-40 years of age and married couples with children slightly older, up to 50 years of age (Kunz, 1988; Peters, 2001, p.66). As most of the DP immigrants from Europe who arrived in the period 1947-1952 came as families or as married couples about to start families, this tactic proved successful.

Migration was organised collaboratively between the Australian government and the IRO[32]. The IRO supplied the transport and resources in European camps and distribution centres but Australia was responsible for the recruitment and resettlement of the DPs (Peters, 2001). Recruitment by Australian Immigration was

[31] This was the name given to the perceived potential invasion of Australia by Asian Communist nations to the north of Australia, such as China or Indonesia.

[32] This migration scheme was set up specifically to deal with the refugee resettlement problem in Europe and was never intended to be permanent. It ended in 1952 (Proudfoot, 1956, p.432).

well-coordinated and effective, promoting Australia as the land of the future in which prosperity, happy family and a new life were possible (Kunz, 1988; Peters, 2001). Though there were a number of reasons for DPs migrating to Australia and other receiving countries, most did so because they wanted only to start afresh. Life in the DP camps was unsatisfying and short-lived and, as people found other accommodation, camps closed down. Many DPs, besides the fear of forcible repatriation, felt unwelcome in Europe, and experienced the pressure to leave. Plus they wanted to escape the reminders of the traumas they had suffered during the war (Kunz, 1988).

Of the DPs who migrated to Australia through the IRO, the Poles were the largest non-English-speaking ethnic group and had, therefore, high visibility. Between the years 1947 and 1954, an estimated 63,394 Polish nationals and approximately 1975 DPs of German nationality[33] migrated to Australia under this scheme as well as an estimated 5000 German and Austrian born wives of Displaced Persons who migrated under the nationalities of their husbands (Kunz, 1988, pp.43-45).

While the majority of Poles came from DP camps in Europe, a minority came from other parts of the world. A significant group of DPs who resettled in WA were the survivors of the Polish families who had been captured and sent to different parts of Russia to work in *Gulags* [34] as slave labour (Allbrook & Cattalini, 1995; Drozdzewski. 2007). Following Russia's union with the Allies, these families were left stranded in Russia to make their own way home. Some were sent to nearby countries such as Iran, India, Khazakstan, for safety and from there to different parts of East Africa where they remained for several years. Many families consisted of women and children due to the men joining the Polish Army when Russia aligned itself with the Allies against Germany (Drozdzewski, 2007). On the 14th February 1950[35], 1181 of these Polish refuge families, known as "the Siberians" arrived in Fremantle, WA, on the *General W.C. Langfitt* (Allbrook & Cattalini, 1995; Peters, 2001).

[33] German nationals were not considered as refugees and could not, therefore be DPs. The German women who came as DPs did so because at that time in Germany, women took their husband's nationality on marriage. Therefore, the German women became Eastern European nationals on paper and were classified as DPs along with their husbands (Kunz, 1988). The German DPs referred to above may have been the children born in Germany of DP parents who had been taken there during the war as labourers (Zubryzcki, 1960, p.8.)

[34] Labour camps

35 An end-note by the authors of The General Langfitt Story clarifies that, even though the arrival date in an article by the West Australian newspaper was given as the 15th February 1950, passengers arrival certificates were dated the 14th February 1950 (Allbrook & Cattalini, 1995, p149).

Even though there were many Eastern European – and indeed German, refugees who were also Jewish, due to the anti-Semitic sentiment in Australia Jewish refugees from Europe were not visible among the DPs arriving in Australia (Pearl, 1983). In 1938, with the threat of war, Australia had agreed to accept 15,000 Jewish refugees over three years, though only 6,425 arrived due to war commencing soon after[36] (Kunz, 1988). The Australian government's attitude to the Jewish refugees was that they should be taken care of by the Jewish community in Australia (Pearl, 1983, p.3). This anti-Semitic attitude continued even following the war, with Australian authorities replacing a quota system which stated that Jewish immigrants should not make up more than 25% of passengers on migrant vessels, with total exclusion of Jewish refugees from the IRO's DP resettlement program in Australia[37] (Jupp, 1998). As before, the Jewish community was to be responsible for Jewish refugees' resettlement once they arrived in Australia (Lack and Templeton, 1995). It has been estimated that of the total DPs migrating to Australia through the IRO, Jewish refugees comprised "well under 3 percent" (Kunz, 1988, p.45).

Selection and passage

The selection process for DPs who were chosen to come to Australia was rigorous. The Australian government wanted only the "best types", that is:

> … types especially suitable for rural work, nursing, domestic work in hospitals, labour for our reconstruction programme and developmental projects. Selection would be on general suitability for work to be performed, after IRO and British security have satisfied our medical and security requirements (Kunz, 1988, cited in Peters, 2001, p.15).

Immigration processing took many weeks and included: initial screening for eligibility; rigorous medical examination, including chest x-ray, urine and blood tests; security checks to rule out people with Nazi or Communist backgrounds (Peters, 2001)[38]. Many DPs, desperate to leave Europe, boarded the first IRO ship they could get onto without even knowing their destination, some thinking they were

[36] Palmer (1997) records the stories of the handful of Jewish refugee children from Germany, Austria, and Poland who were selected to migrate to Australia 1938-1945 and the British children who were evacuated at the same time due to their parents' fears of bombing. She examines the Australian government attitude to the displaced children and the consequences of the separation after the war had ended.

[37] Kunz (1988) puts this figure at only 15% of Jewish refugees on any transport (p.45).

[38] Peters, in her book *Milk and honey but no gold* provides a detailed graph of the complicated process of migration to Australia post-WWII (Peters 2001 pp 60-61).

bound for the USA or Argentina then finding they were actually on the way to Australia or a different port (Kunz, 1988). The DPs transport vessels were provided by the IRO, which were mainly converted troop carriers (Kunz, 1998; Peters, 2001). These vessels carried up to one thousand immigrants and the nearest Australian port, Fremantle, was approximately a 4 week voyage and over 14,500 kilometres from Europe. Most of the DPs continued their long journey to the east coast of Australia.

The voyage for DPs and the assisted migrants who travelled on the IRO vessels were far from cruise experiences. DP families did not travel together on the voyage as women were accommodated with their children in separate quarters from their husbands (Peters, 2001). This was especially difficult for the women with children as they could not call on each other for assistance, being virtual strangers. For example, my mother, who was pregnant with her first child and knew none of the other women on the ship, suffered badly with sea-sickness but did not have the support of my father, who was berthed separately as well as being kept busy as a crew member. The DPs worked as crew hands on the ship so there was little leisure time for them. However, though this work was unpaid they were provided with letters of reference at the journey's end.

Some IRO vessels had reached the end of their working lives. Consequently, there were occasions when they did not reach their intended destination. When ships broke down, they either had to turn back or wait for another vessel to pick up their DP passengers, who might end their journey in another country or any port in Australia. For example, passengers from the *Skaugum*, which, on one Australia-bound voyage broke down in Egypt, were offloaded, picked up by the *MS Anna Salen*, and taken to Fremantle where they were off-loaded and left to settle in WA (Peters, 2001).

Domestic factors in Australia also affected where DPs ended up settling. The *General Hersey*, for example which left Bremerhaven in October 1950, was originally bound for Melbourne but, due to a dockworkers' strike there, disembarked its passengers in Fremantle before heading back to Europe (interviewee Andrew). Additionally, ships were diverted during their voyages to ports with urgent labour demands (Kunz, 1988). Events such as this created a degree of anxiety among the new migrants. Also, between 1947-1949 DPs bound for Eastern States were disembarked and taken to transit camps in Graylands or Swanbourne (suburbs in Perth metropolitan region) for a few days until onward transport was organised, so that ships could turn around and go back for more migrants (Peters, 2001).

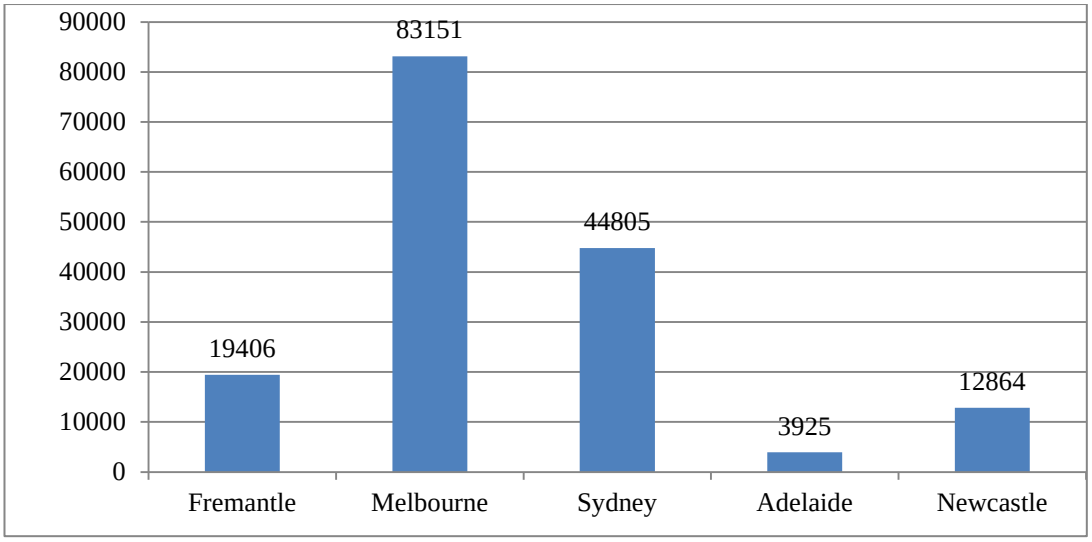
Arrival in Australia

Fremantle, in WA, was the first Australian port at which DPs disembarked. The majority continued their voyage to Melbourne or Sydney where they were processed, then taken by rail to DP camps such as Bonegilla in Victoria and Bathurst and Cowra in New South Wales. The logistics of transporting the DPs was a major achievement, with up to 1200 people disembarking at one time, sometimes almost daily on Melbourne wharves in the peak year, 1950 (Kunz, 1988).

The following graphs demonstrate the different DP intakes of each State. Melbourne, Victoria, had the largest intake (83,151), with vessels arriving weekly, sometimes daily from 1949 to 1951. New South Wales had the next largest intake (almost 60,000) arriving in Sydney and Newcastle Harbours. Fremantle, WA, received far less DPs but was also a transitional port to the Eastern States.

Figures 1-3: DP arrivals at Australian ports, 1947-1952

Figure 1



Source of data: Data for all DP arrival graphs (Figs 1-3) sourced from Kunz, 1988, *Displaced persons: Calwell's New Australians*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, pp.261-265.

Figure 2

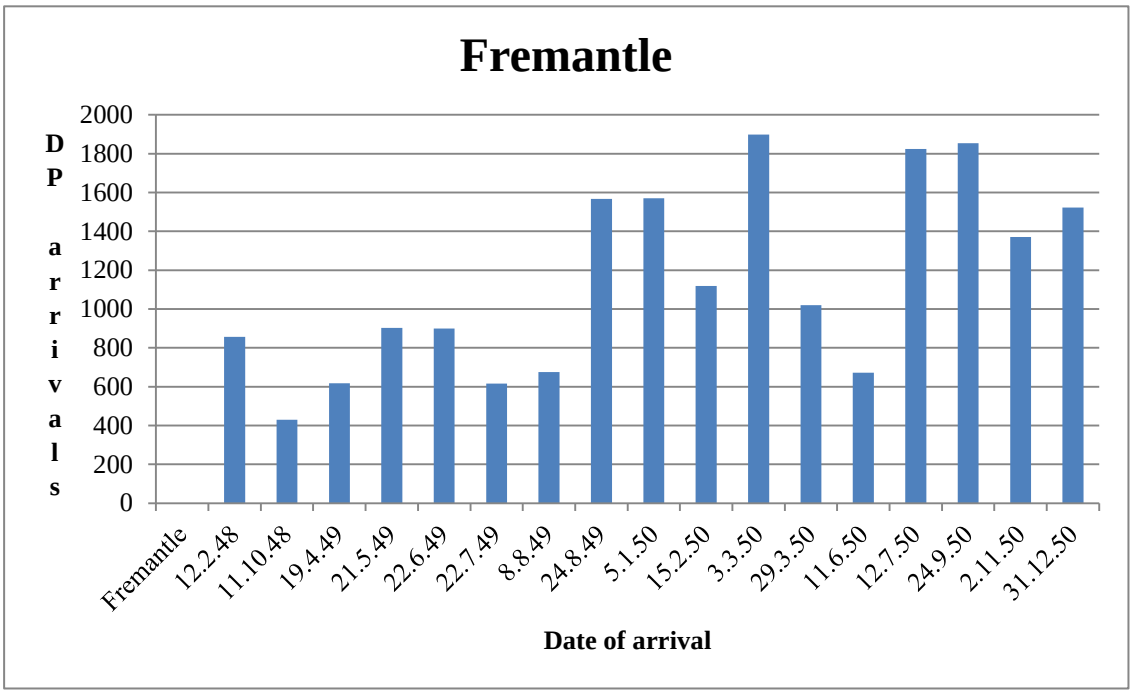
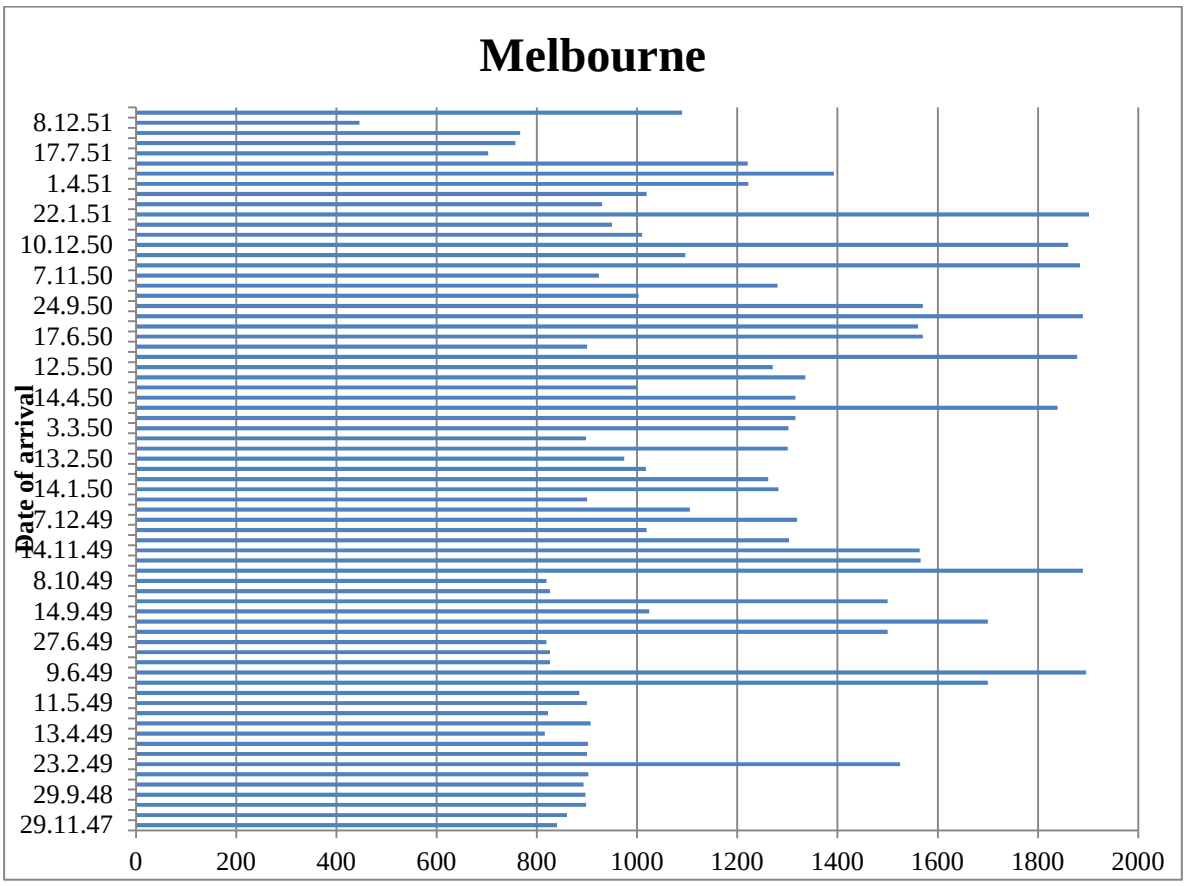


Figure 3



The above graphs show the number of DPs who arrived at different Australian ports from 1947-1952. As can be seen in the comparison charts and tables above there was no apparent pattern to the arrivals, and the number of passengers varied, most likely

due to which vessel was the transport. The largest number of DP arrivals was 1,902 in Melbourne on the 22nd January 1951. It is worth noting that, even though there were significantly less disembarkations at Port Adelaide, there were actually a much larger number of DPs who were located in camps outside Adelaide, having gone through Bonegilla as the first distribution camp (Polish Hill River Church Museum Committee, 2006, p.28).

The DP families destined for WA were taken from Fremantle port by train to reception and training centres, commonly called camps by the migrants. They were usually sent to either Northam or Cunderdin, regional farming towns more than 100 kilometres from the main city of Perth, where they stayed until they were allocated work and, if fortunate, family accommodation. *Appendix 2* gives the details of the migrant reception centres in WA where DPs and migrants were accommodated in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

On arrival in the Department of Immigration Accommodation, Reception and Training Centres newly arrived DPs were medically examined, issued with clothing and allotted accommodation, and registered as aliens[39] They received around three weeks of lessons in "functional" English and the Australian lifestyle while in the camps (Collins, 1991, p.56; Peters, 2001, pp.134-135) before being sent to jobs restoring essential services (rail and road) to pre-war level; clearing land, sometimes in the most isolated areas (outback); and producing building material. Initially many had little chance to practise their English skills as they were generally isolated from the main community in Northam and from other towns[40] (Murphy, 1952)[41] .

Many of the DPs were unaware of the real situation into which they were heading. They had no understanding of the Australian landscape, its people, language or customs, and were not prepared for the isolation (Murphy, 1952). Perth, the capital city of WA, was especially isolated with over 3000 kilometres of mainly desert separating it from the larger capital cities of Sydney and Melbourne on the east coast

[39] The Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1948 was the first legislation defining Australian citizenship. It classified those who were not British subjects or Irish citizens as "aliens" (Lange, 2000,p3). The attitude to non-British immigrants was both exclusionary and inclusive in that while all immigrants were encouraged to become "naturalised" Australians, British citizens could register after 12 months in Australia while non-British could not register for 5 years and non-Europeans not able to register at all (Lack and Templeton, 1995, p13)

[40] In the 1960s in country WA, the ABC 6AM radio broadcast English lessons for migrants, also Italian broadcasts aired regularly with Italian music and news.

[41] Murphy (1952) states that the incentive to learn the English language is weak when the work, such as the hard labour undertaken by the DPs, requires little technical language and the opportunities for friendship with Australians are limited, as they were due to the DPs isolation in work camps (p.53).

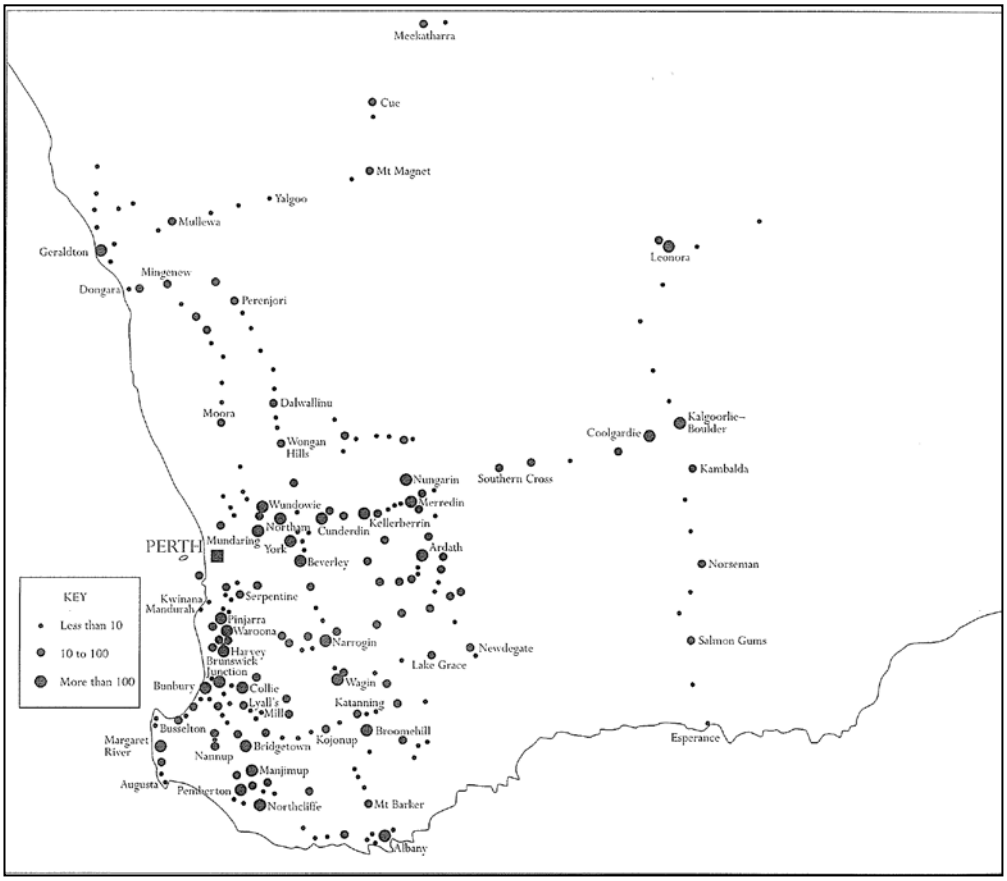
of Australia. The DPs were sent wherever the government decided their labour was needed as they were required to complete a 2 year government work contract as labourers or domestics, without reference to their prior skills, in exchange for assisted passage to Australia (Collins, 1991; Kunz, 1988).

In WA most DPs remained near the regional wheat-belt[42] town of Northam or in tent camps throughout the wheat-belt and south west. Due to the large influx of migrants, coupled with a severe housing shortage, the DPs were also housed in army and holding camps converted for their use until such time as they could find other accommodation, usually when they were allocated employment (Appleyard, 1955; Peters, 2001). The first three weeks were usually spent at the Army camp in Northam, then, when the male worker was allocated employment, his wife and children were taken to the Holden Accommodation Centre in Northam, which doubled as a holding centre until the family found alternative accommodation. Two major employers of DPs were the Main Roads Department and the West Australian Government Railways (WAGR), who accommodated their workers and families in temporary wooden-framed canvas shelters (Appleyard, 1955). The women and children of fathers who had been sent to even more remote areas to work were transferred from the Immigration Accommodation Centre (Army camp) in Northam to the Holden Immigration holding camp where they resided while the men were "out bush"[43].

[42] The wheatbelt is a farming region in the upper south-west of Western Australia which has traditionally, since European settlement in the late 1800s has, been used for wheat and sheep farming, thus the term "wheatbelt". For more detailed information view the following link https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wheatbelt_(Western_Australia)

[43] "out bush" is an Australian term meaning the person is far out in the countryside, usually out of reach, where there are few or no people, with very basic accommodation, and facilities such as running water, electricity or communications are either scarce or absent.

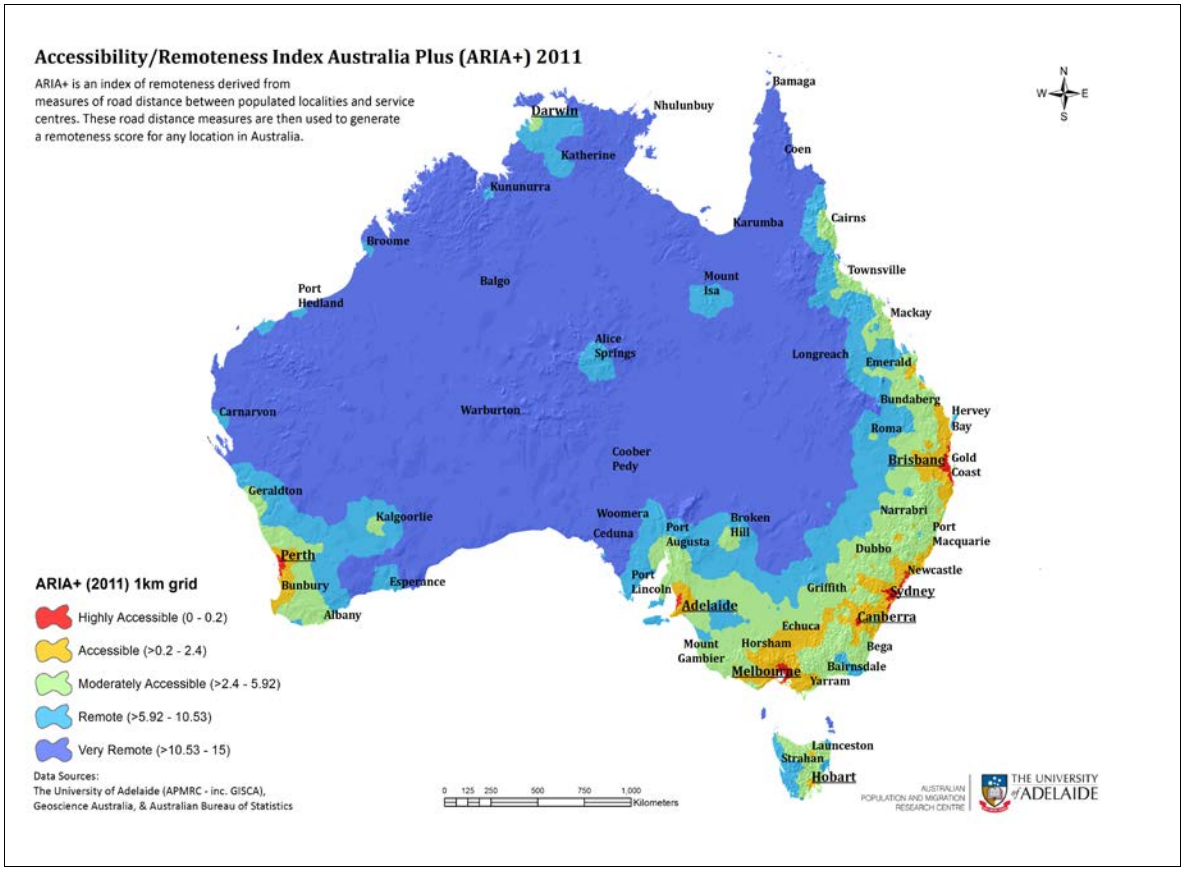
Image 2a: Map of DP work camps in southwest WA



Source: Appleyard, R., (1955). Displaced Persons in Western Australia: their industrial location and geographical distribution, 1948-1954 in Peters, N. (2001), *Milk and honey but no gold*, University of Western Australia Press, p.181. ***Copyright permission to use UWA Press***

While this was a small corner of the Southwest of Australia, it encompassed not only wheatbelt and farming areas but those still considered as being remote today. For an example, see the below image (Image 2b) which provides a remoteness index for the year 2011. Considering that many of the areas in which many members of this cohort, especially those who came as children, resided, are still considered as remote, what would these areas have been like in the 1950s and 1960s. Also consider that currently most of these areas are serviced by bitumised roads, not dirt tracks, and services such as water and electricity are available in most areas, how this would have been for families straight out of Europe

Image 2b: Geographical map of Australia 2011



Source: APMRC, 2013. Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia Plus (ARIA+) 2011. Adelaide, South Australia: Australian Population and Migration Research Centre (APMRC), The University of Adelaide. ***Permission to use granted by University of Adelaide***.

Occupational and economic

Unlike other host nations, Australia and New Zealand were the only countries requiring DPs to sign a contract with a clause threatening deportation if the DP did not complete his or her 2 year contract (Kunz, 1988; Peters; 2001). Neither were DPs given clear information on where they would be employed or about the environment in which they would be living and working. This differed markedly to other accepting nations, such as the US and Canada, where the DPs already knew before leaving Europe who their employers were, the job position, and where they would be living, including additional information about the place of residence (Kunz, 1988). Moreover, there was a strong Polish-American presence in the US actively pressured

the US government to take in Polish DPs and they were warmly welcomed by the *Polonia*[44] on their arrival (Jaroszyńska-Kirschmann, 1997).

Even though the open-ended contract allowed the government to move DPs quickly into employment in the infrastructure industries, it also caused much resentment and hurt among those DPs who had come with expectations of being able to renew their previous occupations or education (Kunz, 1975, 1988; Taft, 1965; Taft and Doczy, 1963; Zubrzycki, 1960, 1964). Australia's 1954 census revealed that there was a high proportion of Eastern Europeans (94.15%), especially Poles, in the "working age" group, which reflected the immigrant intake of DPs (Zubrycki, 1960, p.5). While 7.4% of Eastern European refugees were actually labourers in their countries of origin, in Australia approximately 60% were given labouring work (Australian Information Services Publication, Immigration, Canberra, 1973, p.7, cited in Collins 1991, p.56). However, researchers noted that while DPs were free to take other employment once their 2 year contract had expired, they generally stayed in the same type of job, usually in the Government sector (Appleyard, 1955; Krupinski et al, 1973, cited in Collins, 1991, p.56).

Besides being placed in unskilled labouring and domestic positions on their arrival in Australia, for DPs language skills were a definite factor in the lack of career opportunities. For those men sent to remote locations to work in physical labour alongside other migrant men there was little opportunity to improve English skills thus further hampering any chances of improved work prospects (Johnston, 1965, 1979; Jupp, 1994; 1998; Kunz, 1988; Murphy, 1952).

For DP families, these imposed restrictions did not allow for the family to increase their social networks outside the migrant community, especially as many families moved frequently so both parents and children had to re-establish themselves a number of times in the early years. On completion of their two year work commitments, many DPs moved closer to the city or larger country towns where they could establish themselves financially.

Kunz (1975) states:

[44] Jaroszyńska-Kirschmann (1997; 2001) also explains that there was initial conflict between the American-Polish and the DPs mainly due to lack of understanding by the American Poles of what the DPs had suffered. However, she points out that as the DPs settled into the US there was a revival of Polish culture.

> … it seems that, on the whole, Australia's displaced persons scheme was a highly successful operation mutually beneficial both to Australia and to the overwhelming majority of the arrivals. …. there can be little doubt that in the long run most benefited by their transfer to the secure and free environment of Australia. This was particularly so with those of lesser skill and lower education, who lost little but gained much by exchanging the living standard which was part of the low income group Eastern Europeans for Australia's high minimum wages, better housing and an incomparably healthier style of life (p.3)

Those who did *not* benefit from their migration were the highly skilled and educated DPs (Kunz, 1975; 1998; Taft, 1962). Opportunity for professional advancement in career or return to pre-war occupations for the more highly educated and professional people was extremely limited, while those who wished for further education and qualifications were faced with the extra effort of achieving this (Collins, 1991; Johnston, 1965; 1979). Martin (1965) in her study on "refugee settlers" in Australia found that in 1962 DPs of middle status origins were unable to fulfil their aspirations for tertiary qualifications due to family, age, and other commitments. They had to increase their qualifications either through night courses, within government employment, or by taking correspondence classes. Of 257 former professional males emigrating to Australia 1949-50, one third were able to re-establish their professions by 1970 but the rest were still in labouring jobs (blue-collar) (Kunz, 1971, cited in Collins, 1991, p.56). Kunz (1975) in his study on DP doctors, and Taft and Doczy (1961), in their study on DP intellectuals (focussing on Hungarians) found that, due to professional jealousy and bureaucratic discrimination, these DPs were prevented from entering the Australian workplace at their current level. DP doctors were seen as a threat by the British Medical Association (now Australian Medical Association), who made it almost impossible for the DPs to become registered to practise (Kunz, 1975). In light of the DPs many problems and adverse consequences to their health, and English language difficulties causing poor communication with the medical profession, this is particularly sad and had an impact on the second generation, as is discussed in Chapter 5.

Mental Health

DPs and mental health

During the 1950s it was noted that there was an increasing number of immigrants in mental health institutions. A Government investigation, in 1961, of migrant mental health found: migrants in the 20-49 age group had the highest rates of mental illness; males had higher rates than females; displaced persons had a higher rate of hospital admission due to mental illness than other immigrants (Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, 1961, p.2). The sample size for this study was large (n=3869) and taken from first admissions of migrants to mental health institutions within 5 years of their arrival. However, it is doubtful that it showed the full extent of migrant distress as the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council (1961) report states that immigrants could be deported or repatriated if they became inmates at a mental or charitable institution within the first 5 years of their entry; and this had already occurred (p.20). This fact would have discouraged immigrants, especially already fearful DPs, from seeking assistance for mental health issues. Perhaps, also, this would account for what Kunz refers to as the "phenomenon of a prolonged symptom-free period after arrival", which however, he adds "had been noted by observers overseas" (p.228).

By 1972 more than one in 12 migrants, including DPs, had been diagnosed with mental illness (Murphy, 1993). The poor mental health of DPs, especially depression and schizophrenia, has been recorded in studies by Burdekin (1993), Kunz (1988), Krupinski, (1967, 1984); Krupinski et al (1973), and Zubryzycki (1964). Paranoid schizophrenia in the Polish-Russian group was believed to be related to experiences of war and subsequent experiences in refugee camps as well as living outside "family settings" (Kunz, 1988, pp.229-230). The Taft and Doczy (1962) study of refugee Hungarian intellectuals in Australia found that a major cause of depression in this cohort was due to loss of social status and professional prestige. Burdekin's (1993) report described the impact of mental illness on the families of schizophrenics as feelings of loneliness and isolation coupled with shame and grief, leading to loss of social contact. Additionally, there were no support organisations set up for DPs in Australia, as there were for Holocaust survivors and their families in the US[45].

[45] As an example, the following web pages http://www.holocaustsurvivors.org/; http://holocaustlearning.org/survivors

This impact of mental illness in migrant families was described as a "ripple effect" (Burdekin, 1993, p.471) by one of the interviewees of the report. Burdekin noted that in a single parent family it could also lead to role reversal, meaning the eldest child could become the family carer. Importantly, the 1993 Burdekin Report on Human Rights and Mental Illness highlighted elderly refugees as a group particularly at risk of mental illness as, due to ageing they would often revert to their native tongue and lose the ability to communicate in English. The increasing isolation of ageing and lessening ability to communicate meant that they could become solely dependent upon family and people around them.

Not only does this impact upon 2nd generation DPs and migrants, but over the last decade, institutionalised care for people with mental illness has mainly been replaced with community care, placing the onus of care on the family (Wynaden et al, 2006, Wynaden, 2007). This could have current implications for the 2nd generation DP family carers. It was also found that health professionals often withheld information from the family carer due to confidentiality. This increased carer stress as well as impacting on their care of the mentally ill family member (Wynaden & Orb; 2005; Wynaden et al, 2006).

Summary

This chapter provided the context into which the 2nd generation Polish/German DP interviewees were born and/or had experienced with their parents on migration. During the IRO resettlement scheme, WA received 19,074 DPs, of whom 8,236 were of Polish nationality, which would include the German women who took on their husbands' nationality on marriage (Appleyard, 1955; Kunz, 1988). Of the total number of DPs in WA, approximately 90 per cent were sent to work out their contracts in the country. Significantly, this meant that the vast majority of the 2nd generation who were children when the families migrated, or born soon after, spent the early part of their lives at least in the country or isolated regions, now known as "rural and remote". They, therefore, experienced the same living conditions as their parents. Strangely, though there have been studies on 2nd generation and assimilation, assimilation in conjunction with the living conditions and early social isolation on the 2nd generation do not seem to have been explored. It would seem logical that, if the DPs were affected negatively by these aspects, then so too would this impact upon their children.

Another significant factor affecting the context for 2nd generation DPs is that they came from homes in which one or both parents had experienced traumatic events due to war as well as the loss of family, homes, and nation, which became permanent post-war when they found themselves to be political refugees. That the highest rate of mental illness in the post-war studies in Australia was in Eastern European DPs is logical given the war-time and post-war experiences of these peoples. The DPs dealt with this in different ways, and the effect on the 2nd generation too, as I have seen within this cohort, has varied.

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to explore the experiences of 2nd generation DPs of Polish and/or German descent who are now living in Western Australia. The chapters which follow provide the results and analysis of my research.

Chapter 4 Results and analysis

In this chapter I outline the results of cohort interviews and focus groups. Following a description of the cohort, the chapter begins with the memories of the interviewees who arrived in Australia as young children. The experiences of cohort members in their early years are then presented, followed by the sections dealing separately with interviewees' education and employment, the retention, or lack of, culture and traditions; and family culture and "fitting in". The focus groups are lastly analysed under the heading of resilience, adaptability, survival and versatility.

Research cohort

The cohort in this exploratory study is post-WWII 2nd generation DPs of German and/or Polish parentage, now living in Western Australia. The focus is upon people whose parents were of either German and/or Polish ethnicity. The cohort included people who had migrated as children (up to the age of 12 years) as well as those born in Australia. All 30[46] participants were currently living in Western Australia where, apart from two families, their parents had settled following arrival in Australia. Table 1 shows interviewee location in WA. Interviewees came from metropolitan Perth (n=20), Mandurah district (n=1) Northam and surrounding districts (n=5), and the South West region of Western Australia (n=4).

Table 1: Interviewee location in Western Australia

Metropolitan Perth	Mandurah district	Northam and surrounding district, WA	South West WA
20	1	5	4

The migration trail differed within the cohort. Twenty-six participants had families where both parents migrated to Australia directly from Europe, whilst the other four, including two siblings, had at least one parent who migrated from United Nations camps in Africa[47]. Of these, three were Australian-born while one came as a child migrant with her Polish DP family, which had been transitioned to Africa during the war. In the whole cohort, twenty of the interviewees (including the above

[46] Thirty-three interviews took place but three interviewees are not included in this analysis as they did not meet all criteria for second generation DP.

interviewee) migrated to Australia with their parents. On migration, their ages ranged from 10 months to 9 years.

Interviews, including focus groups, were carried out between December 2009 and May 2012. Interviewee ages ranged from 45 to 69 years at time of interview, the years of birth being from 1940 to 1965. This wide age range is due to the inclusion in the study of both participants born overseas and those born in Australia.

Criteria group characteristics

The cohort (Table 2) comprised 11 males and 19 females. While I had hoped for a fairly equal gender (male/female) and ethnic distribution, (German/Polish), it was not intended to select interviewees according to this criterion. As this is a qualitative study no psychometric measurements would be applied in the analysis; neither is it to be considered a representative sample even though some intra-group and inter-gender comparisons have been made as per the grounded theory method.

[47] These interviewees' parents were part of the 'Siberian' group.

Table 2: Cohort characteristics

2nd Generation DP migration and family context (those who migrated with parents highlighted grey)									
Case No.	**Gender**	**Year of birth**	**Pseudonym**	**Place in family: number siblings**	**Country of birth**	**Parents arrival in Australia**	**Interviewee age (yrs) on arrival if applicable**	**Parental ethnicity (Father/mother)**	**Comments**
1	F	1961	Danuta	1:4	Australia	1950/1958	NA	Polish/Polish	Sibling to Case No.7 Father DP, mother sponsored.
2	M	1952	Peter	3:4	Australia	1950	NA	Polish/Polish	
3	F	1957	Katie	2:2	Australia	1950	NA	Bulgarian/German	
4	F	1952	Regina	4:4	Australia	1950	NA	Polish/Polish	Sibling to Case 31

5	F	1940	Angela	2:2	Poland	1949	9	German-Russian/German-Latvian[48]	
6	F	1965	Julia	4:4	Australia	1950/1958	NA	Polish/Polish	Sibling to Case1. Father DP, mother sponsored
7	F	1946	Monika	1:4	Germany	1950	3.5	Polish/Polish (adoptive)	Adopted at a few months of age. Half siblings in Poland
8	F	1942	Joanna	2:2	Germany	1949	6	Polish stepfather /German	Father (German) deceased during war
9	F	1944	Elka	1:6	Germany	1950	5.5	Polish/Ukrainian	

[48] Where the interviewee has given this type of ethnic background for their parent/s I have put the ethnic followed by national identity as in German-Russian means that the parents are Russian by nationality but see themselves as German, even if they were born and grew up in Russia.
Also, for position in family,as interviewees were unaware that they had other siblings in Europe or Australia, I have regarded them as having the number of siblings and place in family according to the family structure in which they grew up. For example, Monika as oldest of 2 rather than 4 as she only discovered her other half-siblings as an adult.

10	F	1946	Sylvia	1:2	Germany	1950	4	German-Polish/ Ukrainian-Polish	
11	M	1951	Richard	2:2	Australia	1950	NA	Polish/Polish	
12	F	1952	Adrianne	1:2	Australia	1949/1950	NA	Polish/Polish	
13	M	1946	Michael	1:6	Germany	1950	4	Polish/Polish	Younger sibling deceased at age 1
14	M	1946	Daniel	1:3	Germany	1950	4	Polish/Russian	
15	M	1949	Pieter	3:4	Germany	1950	1.5	German/Bulgarian	
16	F	1952	Sonja	2:2	Australia	1949	NA	Polish/German	Twin, second-born. Father died when she was a young child

17	M	1954	Jerzy	4:5	Australia	1950	NA	Polish/Polish	
18	M	1941	Andrew	1:1	Germany	1950	9	Yugoslav stepfather/German	German father (biological) "vague memories of father"
19	F	1949	Jessica	1:1	Germany	1950	10 months	Polish/German	Adopted by Lithuanian /German foster parents at age 6. Younger sibling lived with father and step-mother
20	F	1954	Katrina	4:4	Australia	1949	NA	Polish/German	
21	M	1944	Joseph	1:3	Czechoslovakia	1949	5	Austrian step-father/German	Father (Czech) deceased en route to Australia

22	F	1943	Jenifer	4:5	Iran	1950	7	Polish/Ukrainian	
23	F	1942	Janina	2:2	Poland	1950	8	German-Polish/Russian-Polish	
24	F	1946	Krystina	1:2	Germany	1950	4	Polish/Polish	
25	F	1945	Sofie	1:1	Germany	1950	5	Polish/Polish	
26	M	1947	Walter	1:1	Germany	1949	2	Polish/Polish	Half-siblings in Poland
27	F	1947	Helena	2:2	Germany	1949	2	Lithuanian-Polish/Polish	

28	M	1945	Bernard	1:4	Germany	1950	5	Polish/Polish	Sibling to Case 5
29	F	1959	Rebecca	3:3	Australia	1950	NA	Polish/Polish	
30	M	1950	Paul	2:3	Australia	1949	NA	Polish/Polish	

Of the interviewees, 17 were of Polish/Polish ethnicity, two were of Polish/German and two of Bulgarian/German background. The remainder of the cohort had mixed ethnic backgrounds. That is: German-Russian/German-Latvian; Polish/Russian; Polish/Ukrainian; Yugoslav/German; Polish/Belarussian; Czech/German; German-Polish/Ukrainian-Polish; German-Polish/Russian-Polish; and Lithuanian-Polish/Polish.

Apart from the interviewee who described her Russian/Latvian parents as "Baltic German", no interviewees were of German/German background. Additionally, the three above whose parents identified by different ethnicity could also be considered as Polish/Polish as they all identified as Polish. Living in Australia, a country which has never, since British occupation, had the experience of being invaded and taken over by other nations[49], I was unaware of the importance that was placed on ethnicity in Europe. From their family histories, my interviewees impressed upon me how significant this was. For example, the above interviewee whose parents identified by their ethnicity of origin, no matter how far back, yet were of another nationality. The reality was that constantly changing borders meant that people could be a number of different nationalities over their lifetime, yet ethnicity, no matter the mix, is always constant.

I had expected there would possibly be some people whose parents had fled Eastern Germany, but they probably would have listed themselves as being of a different nationality, for example, Latvian, so they would be eligible to emigrate. I had also thought there might be Polish, or German, interviewees with Jewish background but, as explained in the literature review, there were reasons why they were largely excluded as DPs, namely the insistence by the Australian government that they be the responsibility of the Australian Jewish community.

Within the overall Polish-Polish group were two sets of siblings, a brother and sister from one family and two sisters from another family. The sisters were the youngest in the cohort by at least 10 years, born in the years 1961 and 1965 just as assimilation was being phased out. They were slightly different to the rest of the cohort as their father was a DP from Africa and had migrated with his mother and extended family

[49] While British settlement took place in Australia in different and widely distanced locations, beginning on the East coast, it was a colonisation process, in which indigenous Australians were dispossessed of their lands and cultures. It can, therefore, be considered as an act of invasion.

when 17 or 18 years of age. Their mother migrated some years later as a sponsored migrant.

Different family structures also existed within the families of this cohort. Four of the interviewees were from step-families; two had been adopted at a very young age; three had half-siblings in Europe and the remainder were from the "traditional" nuclear family, apart from one whose parents had divorced a few years after migrating so was from a sole parent family.

Excluded interviewees

Another three participants whom I interviewed are not included in the analysis. The reason is that, even though two of them are 2nd generation of German and/or Polish ethnic background, they are not 2nd generation DPs. These two interviewees came from families which had been sponsored. I discovered from one of these interviewees, while interviewing, that though her father was a Polish refugee, post-war he had taken on British citizenship and had married an Englishwoman. Therefore, the family did not migrate to Australia through the IRO scheme but as British migrants. The second interviewee also had refugee parents but they were sponsored to migrate to Australia in 1954, after the IRO scheme had ended. This was information that was not available on the screening interview. The third interviewee had German parents and they were also sponsored.

Interview analysis

For the in-depth interviews, I followed a semi--structured interview format based upon different areas of exploration, that is, assimilation; belonging and identity; integration and multiculturalism. The interviews were loosely structured in that questions were not asked in sequence or even using the exact wording of the interview schedule, which was used mainly as a guide. As interviews took on a life of their own, some questions became more important than others, and some were not discussed at all, as they were not relevant to the interviewee.

Prior to commencing the interviews, I had carried out pilot interviews to test my questions with people of a 2nd generation migrant background though not part of this cohort. I was satisfied with the pilot interviews but, after I had completed and transcribed my first four interviews I realised that, even though I had piloted my interview schedule and was satisfied with the content, it would not yield rich data on assimilation. The reason for this was that the interviewees were born in 1961, and

1965, so had not experienced assimilation in its "true" form and did not really know what I meant by assimilation, while another early interviewee was a "non-criteria" interviewee, who migrated as a British citizen, and said they had not been aware of assimilation. Taking these interviews as my guide, and after some discussion on this topic with my supervisor, it was decided to broaden the questions to be less specific to the word "assimilation" itself and directed more to exploring the behaviours of assimilation based upon the experiences in different areas of interviewees' lives. This change in format allowed for a more general view of their experiences. The reframed interview questions no longer referred specifically to assimilation, but explored the family culture in which interviewees grew up; their communities, education, and cultural traditions, including language. I believed looking at these factors might also give a clue as to whether assimilation was relevant.

The result of the more generalised interview format, however, lead the research into a different direction in which other features began to emerge which surprised me and which, I believed, required further exploration. Looking back, it was obvious that these issues were important, however, being from the same cohort, I was perhaps too close to understand that these could be circumstances specific to this group.

The emerging aspects were: the intensity of the migration experience; the influence of the family, in particular the parents; the effect of the family culture; and the influence of the social and economic capital of the family. The initial focus on family was unintentional, as the questions relating to family were only intended to provide a context or background for the interviewee as well as for me to validate their 2nd generation DP status. The results of these interviews are described below.

Earliest memories

It became evident during the analysis that there were, within the cohort, three different groups. These were: child migrants who migrated from Europe with their DP parents when between the ages of 10 months and 9 years (14/30); those born in Australia of DP parents (12/30) and those who either migrated from Africa with their DP parents or were born in Australia of DP parents who had transitioned in Africa (4/30). To do justice to the different migration experiences of each group, I present their results beginning with the child migrants. I then compare the experiences and outcomes for each group, following which I analyse the collective cohort.

I have decided, however, that when presenting results for the child migrant group, to only include those who migrated *after* three year and a half years of age. Younger child migrants, that is, *under* three and a half years, are analysed together with the Australian-born 2nd generation. This separation is based upon my discovery that many of the interviewees, even as young as three and a half years of age, had deep-seated, though not complete, memories, of their family's migration. Even at the age of 4-5 years of age, interviewees had memories relating to their post-war displacement in Europe, while two interviewees who were older when they migrated remembered vividly episodes surrounding their family's flight through Europe at the end of the War as well as their movements between DP camps and the events leading to their family migration to Australia. These children, therefore, had their own migration experiences which differed from those of their parents and which were seen through the eyes of a child. It must be noted however that these memories were supplemented, or re-enforced, by their parents or older siblings. With other older child migrants, memories took the form of flashes of pictorial memory, sensory memories such as smells, feelings, and emotion, and other isolated events.

It was apparent, while the interviewees were recounting their memories, that it was not till many years later as adults that they realised the significance of their experiences, which they were then able to fit into the framework of their own post-war and migration experiences. However, they had also realised, as children, the effect that war and displacement has upon children generally. Obviously those who migrated as babies, with their parents, had no such memories, which is why I have included them with the Australian born group.

Child migrants - earliest memories

When interviewing the participants, I asked the question: "What is your earliest memory?" Responses to this question differed markedly. The few who had been born during the war had intermittent memories of the chaotic post-war period, though of course not having then understood the political or social events surrounding them. Yet, their individual migration experiences of the pre-migration context as described from a child's perspective are important as they serve to reflect the uncertainty and turmoil of the immediate post-war situation.

Among the interviewees who migrated at an older age, most retained memories of the voyage to Australia, their arrival at Fremantle, the Northam camps and the

railway tent cities where many DP families were accommodated in their first few years in WA, as well as other parts of Australia. Memories of pre-migration varied from vague impressions, the memory of smells and sensations, and the clear recollection of events going on around them. For example, in her memory, Joanna (then 6 years of age) still savours her very first taste of chocolate in Naples, and remembers her mother buying sandshoes for herself and her older brother; footwear which had not yet been introduced to the Australian market. For Sofie, (5), it was the smell of lilac trees and mushrooms, and "echoes" and the freezing cold shower she had to take before being fed on arrival in a DP camp in Italy. Elka (5) remembered events and smells, like the smell of the cheeses in Italy and going under cover of darkness with another Polish DP to steal a pig for their families to kill and eat, as well as playing on a river bank which was still littered with unexploded grenades and where some children, sadly, were killed while playing there.

Michael, as a 4 year old was quite an impressionable child but was now able to articulate his memories such that it was easy to visualise the scene being related. He informed me that:

> I remember, well I actually remember being in Germany. I remember the snow and the snowman melting when it got hot, and I remember going through the ... I was quite sick, and we used to go to hospital, and I was taken in the Army ambulance, and you know, I remember the big boom gates and all that, the controls, and all that. And I remember coming down from, through Italy as we travelled, and you know, people sitting on top of open carriages and that sort of thing. But the thing that amazed me, all the bridges were broken. And I thought ... I asked my mother, and my Dad told me that it was because the train's chimney-stack was too high, it just knocked it down (laughs). It wasn't till about, you know, 30 years later I realised it was because of the war, and they got bombed.

Other impressions were not so benign. Moving from camp to camp across Europe was a memory retained mostly by the older child migrants, as was the sense of

danger. Angela felt the sense of urgency as her family fled through Europe, to finally find a haven at the end of the war in one of the many DP camps in Germany.

> But I do remember. Oh yes, there was always this urgency, there was... Like my parents had to leave us once at a railway station and just, like, “Don’t dare move!” or something. My brother and I would stand there - and I mean there was none of this you didn’t obey, you *had* to, you just felt, you know, it was absolutely necessary, life or death maybe.

Andrew and Joanna, both of part-German parentage, remembered their families moving from camp to camp through Germany in order to get to an IRO port for their migration. Andrew described the camps in Europe as being “like the Taj Mahal” compared to Northam Army camp where they were later sent. He described one camp in which they resided before leaving Germany as “more like high-rise apartment blocks. Basic, but you had proper beds, you had a wardrobe, table, which you didn’t have in Northam”. Others though, like Janina, had quite different memories of the DP camps that they were in. “I didn’t like the Displaced Persons’ camps”, she told me. “I saw a lot of violence”. “You actually saw it yourself?” I asked. “I heard it, I saw it” (she pauses).

The map below shows the main DP camps throughout Europe. However, there were many more, much smaller camps, some of which were closed after a short time and the camp residents sent to other, nearby camps. There were also camps in the south of Italy, which are not shown on this map as well as the Red Cross camps for German refugees from Eastern Europe.

Image 3: Map of Displaced Persons camps Europe Post World War Two

Source: Wyman, Mark (1989) *DPs: Europe's displaced persons 1945-1951*, Cornell University Press.
Accessed ***http://www.dpcamps.org/dpcampseurope.html***

Case histories

Angela (70) and Janina (68), the oldest of the interviewees, related their family migration history and other personal events which had occurred in Europe during the war and pre-migration. While many of these stories had become family legend, having been told to them by their parents, their own personal recollections came through strongly during their narratives.

Angela

Unlike the other interviewees in the cohort, being of Baltic German ethnicity Angela's family may not have been classified as "official" refugees, or displaced persons, even though they were in fact fleeing for their lives during the war. Her family had already been displaced a number of times since her father, a White Russian, escaped with his brother, possibly post-revolution, from Russia to Latvia where he met and married Angela's mother.

Having been under the impression that Angela was a 2nd generation DP of German heritage, I was astonished when, in answer to my routine question: "Angela if you can just begin by telling me a bit about yourself starting with perhaps a little bit about your parents?" Angela replied: "My parents - they called themselves cosmopolitan because there was such a mixture of nationalities on both sides".

Although Angela was unsure of the ethnic composition of her family she identified as German because, even though Angela's father was born in Russia and her mother in Latvia, her parents were actually Baltic Germans and so considered themselves as German nationals, Volkesdeutche[50], and were treated as such by German authorities during the Second World War [51]. The family became inadvertently part of the Nazi government's policy of ejecting Poles from their homes and businesses and replacing them with German nationals, such as Angela's family. They had to leave their home and family business in Latvia and were relocated to a small town in Poland, where they ran another small business. It was in this town that Angela was born and spent her early life.

At the end of the War, Angela remembered, her family was given two hours' notice to flee as the Russian Army was on its way to take over their village. Along with thousands of other Eastern Europeans, Angela fled with her parents, brother, and aunt. They made their way to Berlin, using whatever mode of transport they could find, while trying to avoid air raids from both the Russians and the Americans. Angela was about 4 years of age, so had only vague memories of this time, though she well remembers the sense of impending danger that surrounded them on their escape.

Ironically, the camp in which her family sought refuge was a United Nations Refugee camp for Russian refugees in Germany. Fortunately, the family spoke Russian as well as Latvian and German so were able to hide that they were ethnic Germans. Here Angela's family lived for four years, which she considered:

> Oh yes that was great, that is why I love anything to do with Russian. I love the Russian church, I love the Russian singing. We went there to the church, the icons, and of course I couldn't speak a word of any other language but

[50] That is, people of historical German ethnicity living outside Germany and of different nationality.

[51] Baltic Germany existed in Russia and surrounding areas over 300 years ago. Yet the ethnic identification as ethnic German remained within families in spite of nationality. Not surprising given how many times borders changed. One's nationality could change constantly but not one's ethnicity.

> Russian, so when we came, and when dad was accepted to come to Australia, the four of us, all I could speak and write was Russian. I did some ballet as well. They did a lot for the people in the camp. And my auntie was with us then too and she used to help out in the kitchen and she used to pinch quite a bit of stuff, food stuff, hide them in her pockets and aprons. So those years I found were great.

However, she temporarily lost her German language as she and her brother were forbidden by their parents to speak German for fear of eviction from the camp. She compared the Russian camp to camps for German displaced persons.

> Yes, you had to be (German) - there were different camps … and those that were speaking German were those, I think, in the High School, I think Mum said. People were sleeping on tables and desks or whatever was available, just to find a place where to put them - and nothing worked you see. It was summer (1945), and the toilets were blocked and people - it was terrible, small kids and everything just - aahh, they just put them in there. Yes, a lot of people died.

From this time, until migrating to Australia, Angela spoke only Russian. She recalled the great fear that her father, as a White Russian, held towards the Communists and believes this was why the family migrated as DPs to the furthest destination away from Europe, Australia. “People applied to go to America, Canada, Australia”, she said, “and Dad thought Australia is the furthest away from the communists. He just had the greatest fear of them”.

Though Poland bordered Germany and Russia, it was not so simple for families fleeing their homes into Europe due to the constant movement of borders because of the war. Families, such as Angela’s family had been displaced a number of times during the war and continued to be so afterwards. This explains why Angela’s father

had a real fear of being returned to Poland or Russia where he was already considered an enemy through the fact of being a White Russian[52][53].

Janina

Janina knew many family stories, more so, she said, about her father and barely anything about her mother of whom she says: "She didn't speak of her family. She kept a lot of secrets". Following our interview, Janina found out a little more about her mother's family history, which gave her greater understanding of her background. Like Angela, Janina also had parents who identified by their ethnicity rather than their nationality. Both were born in Poland but of German and Russian ethnicities, though it appears her mother identified as Polish rather than Russian during and after the war.

Most of the events in the war and immediate post-war period were recounted to Janina by her mother and brother. Janina's father ran a business in a small town in Poland where her older brother was born. Her mother was a hairdresser. With the advent of the Second World War, the family was displaced from their homes and moved to a large town in central Poland, where Janina was born. Not long after the Second World War began, Janina's father, being of German ethnicity, was enlisted into the German Army and sent to Scandinavia to work as a translator, leaving the mother to fend for the family. Janina's mother was fortunate, initially, in having some work and so could feed the family while they were still in Poland and waiting to escape to Germany to be with Janina's father. It was a very stressful time for the family.

Even without any knowledge or understanding of the political situation unfolding outside her home, Janina felt the tension of their circumstances. At an early age she learned how to keep quiet:

> Well, I was a quiet child and I learnt - you know. Children know what's going on. Well, I *certainly* did. Well I couldn't vocalise them and I think that applies to all children, from a very young age.

[52] White Russians were loyal to the Imperial family of Russia and had to flee once the Communists (Red Russians)overthrew the Tsar and took control of Russia, later forming the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc which was comprised of most of the Eastern European countries, including Poland.

[53] See following link to understand more about why the Volkesdeutche had much to fear following the Second World War http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/refugees_01.shtml

While her mother was at work Janina's brother took care of her in the attic in which they lived and, apart from going into the cellar during air-raids, they rarely left the room. The attic was "bitterly cold" and her brother kept her wrapped in an eiderdown, sang songs and told her stories. She was occasionally taken outside by her mother or brother. She remembers one occasion when:

> my brother took me to see a lolly shop, which was closed, and we were looking through the window pane and he said "There are lollies in there" and I remember licking the window pane. So that was my memory.

Janina felt the stress of staying in the attic, recalling that her brother was affected by what he saw and heard when out in the street and became, she said, very nervy. Her mother had to find ways to keep him occupied to take his mind off what was happening around them. At this stage he was in his early teens.

> When I was about 4, because my mother spoke to a lot of people, and she knew the way things were going with the Russians and so forth, that she would have to escape. And she would either perish in Poland or on the journey but she had to take the risk. And because I hadn't been out and, you know, escaping wasn't like catching a train at 8am, it was waiting around and all these sort of things, and so she tried to take me out a little bit so I wasn't like a wild child, not having been out.

Janina's family managed to escape to Berlin, where they remained in a Red Cross facility and began the search for her father. She had no memories of her father and met him some years later, after the war, when he was traced by the Red Cross and reunited with the family.

The memories which are embedded in her mind from those years around the end of the war, and pre-migration, still evoked emotional responses from Janina as she remembered her mother's fear of losing her while they were escaping on the train from Poland to Germany. The Red Cross refuge they reached in Germany was crowded with refugees and they were placed in a large communal sleeping area of triple-bunked beds and straw mattresses Food supplies were extremely limited, with

one billy-can of food per day per family. However, as this camp was for German DPs they were disadvantaged without their father and were often without food.

> What happened was that we got one meal a day. Each person was given a billy-can and all these people were lining up but now she [Janina's mother] was Polish, she couldn't speak German. So she couldn't win either way. But when we would line up, it was a lot of potatoes with peels and there would be horse meat – that was a thing used then. So she would just get something skimmed from the top you know, like Oliver Twist, instead of going right down the bottom. So she learned to send my brother [who spoke German] so the quality improved. But I was – I remember being starving. And I mean *starving*. I had also fainted with hunger, because little children have little stomachs. So when this billy-can came back my mother and my brother would just hand it to me. Oh, I was *so hungry*.

Unfortunately, while in the refuge, both Janina and her mother were taken ill but sent to different hospitals. Janina was struck down with a contagious disease, she thought either chickenpox or measles, and quarantined until she recovered. The family were devastated by the separation, the pain of which remains in her memory. She remembered her mother and brother climbing up to a high window outside her room and banging on it to get her attention. Choked up with emotion, her feeling of powerlessness was patent as she told me: "And I saw my mother and I wanted to say "Mum, Mum" but nothing would come out. *I couldn't get it out*".

Fortunately, the next stage of their lives, particularly for the children, was happier when they relocated to a small German village. Janina was enchanted by the parks and fruit trees, which she had never seen before. She described it as: "It was like waking up out of a coma". However, her idyllic lifestyle was short-lived. When her father was finally re-united with the family, the decision was taken to migrate to Australia, where families were being sought as migrants. Because of the remaining hostility between Germans and Polish and other Eastern Europeans post war, many of the "mixed marriage" DPs, such as Janina's parents, preferred to migrate to other countries to make a new start. The option for Eastern Europeans to return to their

homes was not a viable one due to the Communist occupation of those countries, and the retaliation which they believed awaited them should they return.

To improve their chances of migration, the family moved into a Polish DP camp in the village. Emigration was delayed for some months until Janina was passed as fit to travel after having contracted lung disease. During this time the family were moved to approximately 6 different camps. This was a difficult for Janina, who saw and heard violence around her in the camps, and encountered a lot of child mortality.

She did not go into detail about these memories. Rather, she focussed upon the positive aspects, such as the beauty of the landscape. She was a very spiritual child, so that even the memory of picking flowers and taking them to the cemetery evoked a sense of peace.

Jenifer

Jenifer's pre-migration story was strikingly different to the stories of child migrants who had come to Australia from Europe. Jenifer was born in Iran and went with her family to Africa when she was almost 5 years of age. Her only memory of Iran was of being taken ill with a fever and going into hospital and being tended to by her mother and a neighbour.

As Jenifer's family lived in Africa for approximately three years, she had very clear memories of the DP camp in Africa. Jenifer remembered that each family lived in a round thatched hut and there were a lot of English people – "Army blokes, you know, English officers" in charge of the camp but who were not popular with a lot of the Polish DPs because "They used to try to tell us what to do. My Dad never liked the English. And there were a lot of people (who) didn't like them"[54]. She later compared the camps in Africa and Australia, preferring the Australian ones because "there was no one bossing you around. You could do what you liked". In spite of the camp conditions in country Western Australia where she later lived, this freedom was more suited to Jenifer's extraverted and very independent personality.

Jenifer remarked that in Africa her mother worked in the camp laundry with the other DP women. She did not state what work her father had there or whether her older brother or three older sisters, who were adolescents at this time, also had work. It appears that the older sisters were left to look after themselves and their younger

[54] There was a sense of betrayal felt by many Poles toward the Allies because of the Yalta Agreement, whereby Poland, whose Armies had fought courageously with the Britain and the US against, initially, Russia and Germany and then Germany, was given over to Soviet control after the war.

sisters. Jenifer related a humorous account of her time in the African camp, where she thwarted the plans of the young Englishmen who were trying to get time alone to chat with her sister and her sister's friend. From Jenifer's stories, it was clear that she did not suffer the same angst in the African camp as had Janina in the Polish DP camp, nor the constant relocation that others in Europe experienced toward the end of the War. Her life appears to have been very stable during this period. Even though she was a similar age to Janina during the war, she had none of the war-time memories that Janina held.

Unlike in the DP camps in Europe which were often a mixture of ethnicities, Jenifer remembers that, in their African camp, the Polish DPs were together and had their own community. Due to this, she maintained a strong link to her Polish culture as well as her Polish and Ukrainian languages. Also, unlike the migrant children from Europe, whose access to education varied according to which DP camp they were in, Jenifer had a continuous structured education while in Africa. Additionally, English lessons, as well as general education, were provided for the children at the camp[55] as well as more life skill types of lessons at home.

> We had our rules and chores to do and rules, we all knew what to do, when you get up and what not, sort of thing. You'd have your day off, as long as your chores are done, your chooks were fed, especially the girls, your washing, and that, and we were just taught how to survive, not just that you can play around all day. We made our own doonas, Mum taught us how to make our own doonas, and we had a brother, but he was taught how to sew, used a needle and cotton. Don't worry he did it!

Eventually, Jenifer's family was moved out of the DP camp in Africa. She described the DP exodus from Africa:

> Before we got shipped out to here, we were told where we were going to go. We weren't sure where they were going to take us, put us. Some of our friends went to America, were shipped out there, some of them went to

[55] By 1944 there were over 13,000 Polish citizens in East Africa (not sure if this includes children).There were, in South Africa 18 Polish schools with approximately 1800 students. Polish culture thrived. African radio stations even had Polish language segments. http://www.dpcamps.org/poland.html

> England. We were the last bits and pieces, I reckon. We were shipped to Australia.

Effects of war

Impressions that were formed in early childhood lingered and had a deep impact upon Janina, who found out at a very young age the destructive effect of war on people's trust in each other. She said:

> So many people turned where they were neighbourly with all nationalities, all creeds, suddenly this other side of their character came to the front…. It (war) just changed people where you just could not trust anybody. You couldn't even trust your own family.

This was true for Angela, as she fled with her family toward Berlin. She was told by her mother that, on their flight, they were given food and accommodation by villagers and other strangers. Yet, when they found their way to her great-aunt's house on the Austrian border, they were refused both help and accommodation.

Reliance on select family members was the only choice for many of the child migrants whom I interviewed. Due to the war these children were virtually fatherless in the first years of their lives. For those who were displaced there was no extended family or friends to assist if they needed support, meaning that these children relied completely upon their mothers and older siblings, who took full responsibility for the family. As well, there was much fear and very little trust of strangers.

The stories told by both Angela and Janina serve to highlight the feelings of fear and desperation of people displaced by war, motivating them to migrate away from Europe to the farthest place on earth, where they felt they would be safe to start new lives. Angela always believed that it was her father's fear of the Soviets that prompted their migration. Her story, beginning with her father's experiences of displacement also highlights the confusion created in Eastern Europe by the constantly shifting borders where a person could be safe one day and at risk the next, according to who was occupying their territory. In her case, she was fortunate that there was no separation from her father or other members of her family.

The impact of war filtered down to the children of DPs via the decisions that their parents felt forced to make to keep themselves and their families safe. For example, Janina had to endure the change from a friendly and safe haven in the German village

to life in the Polish DP camp, which she hated, as her parents felt they would not fit into German society due to her mother's Polish ethnicity. Angela loved Germany and the Russian camp where she went to school, had ballet lessons, and made friends. Her father, because of his business background was employed by the "Americans" as a warehouse manager and she remembers seeing "doll's houses and whatnot" in some of the stores where he worked. Yet, even though her life seemed to have settled after the trauma of escaping from Poland, her potential new life in Germany ended due to her father's past experiences of political persecution and a deep-seated fear of the Soviet regime. So Angela was taken to Australia.

Another result of the situation that families found themselves in during, and even after, the war was that children learned to be resourceful through the example of their parents and the desperate people around them, in order to survive or as necessity to occupy themselves. For example, Janina's mother trundled her trolley of coffee beans to sell to the German farmers and then took her curling tongs with her to the Polish DP camp where the recently liberated young Polish forced and slave labourers held occasional social events. Janina's mother told her: "A woman doesn't worry what is in her stomach because no-one can see it but she'll get her hair done to go to the dances." Therefore, being left alone with no toys, books, pencils, while her brother was at school, Janina also invented games, making pillows into dolls and using furniture to make cubby houses.

It became clear to me that for these two interviewees, Angela and Janina, it was important to share their family histories with me. I wondered whether they had ever had that opportunity before to talk about this time, apart from within their immediate families. On deeper thought, I realised that Janina, in particular, not only wanted to tell me about her family's story but, more specifically, the bravery of her mother and especially her brother, with whom she has been close all her life. The obvious closeness, even hero-worship, that she still feels for her brother dating from that time came across to me as a rare and extraordinarily beautiful family bond.

Camp Europe to Camp Australia

Most of the older child migrants had memories of their migratory voyage and of arriving at their destination, Fremantle Port, in Western Australia. Angela and Joanna did not disembark in Fremantle but in Melbourne and Sydney respectively where they went to Department of Immigration Bonegilla Migrant Reception and Training

Centre[56] in the state of Victoria, and Cowra, NSW. Bonegilla was a much larger camp than Northam in Western Australia and so housed many more refugees and migrants (Pennay, 2007). Cowra was slightly smaller than the converted Army Camp on Great Eastern Highway in Northam. These camps also acted as distribution centres to other DP camps (Varacalli, 2009). For example, a number of Polish DPs from Bonegilla were sent to Woodside DP camp in South Australia, where the DP families soon amalgamated with a historically well-established ethnic Polish community[57].

Within Western Australia, Northam was the largest distribution centre for DPs though there was another regional camp at Cunderdin. From Northam and Cunderdin camps, families were sent to more remote towns within Western Australia where the parent or parents fulfilled their two-year Federal Government employment contract. It was not unusual for the family to be moved on to other locations during this two year period. All but two of my interviewees' families went to the regional camps; one family went to Graylands in the metropolitan area, as their baby was in a metropolitan hospital with a severe illness; the other family were a couple with no children.

The journey - joys and fears

Given the young ages of most of the child migrants, I was surprised at how well they remembered the fragments of their voyage to Australia. While, as children, they had little idea of the cause of their emigration from Europe, the journey to Australia evoked differing memories and feelings among these children.

The most common memory was the passage through the Suez Canal, which made an impression upon the children, whose memories had an almost surreal quality to them. Memories such as trading with the Arab dealers from their boats which came right up to the migrant ship; food was traded for money and jewellery. Michael remembered this part of the voyage very clearly:

[56] Bonegilla was the largest of the DP and later voluntary migrant camps in Australia. It was situated inland approximately 200km from Melbourne, the capital of Victoria and was spread over 250 hectares with 600 army-style huts (Pennay, 2007).

[57] The Silesian Poles were early settlers in the Adelaide Hills districts. In the 1840s, just as the new colony of South Australia was born, a German migrant from a district bordering Silesia, brought to Seven Hills in South Australia about 30 families of Silesian Poles to work for him in setting up a vineyard. The area close to the vineyard is now known as Polish Hill (Polish Hill River Church Museum Committee, 2006).

> And yes, I remember us getting on, you know, sailing through the Suez Canal. Also when we left Italy seeing Mt Vesuvius in the background, and going through the Suez Canal, and all those men (Arabs) trading, and people throwing money down for them and them throwing things up to them, in their little boats as they came up. And the equator, we had a ceremony of crossing the equator, I remember that.

However, Bernard (4 years) remembered only one thing about the voyage." I remember the Suez Canal for some reason. We were on the Suez and there were about six camels. There were about six camels at the back. That's all I remember".

The "Crossing the Equator" ceremony was a significant memory for those old enough to understand and generally enjoyable, except for Joanna, who recalled the terror she felt during the ceremony thinking that her step-father, who couldn't swim, might drown in the pool. Therefore, among the joys of discovery, of the exotic locations which they traversed, there was still an underlying angst with some of the children. Joanna observed:

> Well, it makes you realise. A child doesn't understand. Something simple like throwing a person in the pool is, you think that's the end, you know. Children don't understand a lot of that sort of stuff. So you've got to be careful what you tell children I think, or how you tell them.

In the post-war period in Europe, and other parts of the world, infectious diseases were common. Janina spoke of the many children who died due to these. Measles, mumps, chickenpox and whooping cough were debilitating and life-threatening diseases and easily contracted due to the crowded living spaces and constant movement of populations in Europe. Despite the best efforts of immigration officials, there were epidemics on board the crowded migrant ships to Australia. Helena's brother was one of the children quarantined on the *Fairsea* and immediately taken to hospital on arrival in Fremantle. The situation was fraught with anxiety as a number of children died from epidemic during that particular voyage.

Monika's only memory of her migration voyage was of standing on a bench outside a window and looking into the quarantine ward "to see if my sister was still alive".

Other interviewees, such as Janina, spent the voyage in quarantine, with both chickenpox and whooping cough.

Another situation which caused problems for some of my interviewees was that the children's fathers were housed separately to the women and young children. Sofie's mother was too seasick to mind her, so she was left to wander alone around a ship containing over 700 passengers plus crew. Her father, when he came across her wandering around the decks, was very upset that she was not being properly looked after. But, being just a very young child, Sofie did not understand the risk of her actions, and was simply delighted by her discovery that somewhere on board she could view movies. Angela also spoke of the men and women being located on separate areas of the ship and that she, alone, at the age of nine, had to assist her mother who was very ill with seasickness.

Possibly, the feelings that children had about leaving their homes, even those who had been displaced and were living in DP camps or villages, were not taken into account. As child migrants, my participants were much too young to have any input into either their parents' plans to migrate or the choice of destination. The journey to Australia, for some, was an adventure; for others a deep feeling of loss as they left behind people they loved; and yet others were unaware of what was happening, just going along with their parents.

Andrew had ambivalent feelings about the voyage and migration. Already unsettled by his parents' separation and the acquisition of a step-father of a different ethnicity, he felt keenly the loss of his grandparents when his mother and step-father decided to migrate to Australia:

> I found it fairly hard leaving, having to leave my grandparents because they, well we were very, very, close. Especially my Grandmother, she absolutely doted on me. And when we got notification that we had to go to the camps, I didn't even get a chance to say goodbye. Which made it very, very hard. And I never saw them again.

Additionally, while he only had vague memories of his father, who was away at war during Andrew's early childhood, the migration to Australia severed all ties with his father and paternal family in Germany. Consequently, he did not find out till well

into adulthood that he had half-siblings in Germany as his father had remarried and started another family, a not uncommon situation in the post-war period.

Andrew's trip to Australia on an American converted troop carrier was not easy either, making the migration even more stressful though he looked on the more positive side of his experience, describing it as "a bit of an adventure". However, he told me, the sleeping quarters were so unbearably hot and airless that passengers went against regulations by taking their bedding up on deck at night so that they could get some sleep.

> It was an American warship and the accommodation arrangement was that all the men were together and all the ladies and girls were together. We were down near the engine room – we had hammocks and it was *so* hot. There was no air-conditioning, nothing, down there of course. But the meals on the ship were excellent. The American sailors on the boat were fantastic to the kids, you know, they plied us with ice-cream and fruit. Not so much for the adults. I mean they got things to do, they had to work. But it was a long, long haul on that ship and it go so uncomfortable that we decided that we would camp up on the deck. And that was a *big* no-no.
>
> "What, you and the other kids?" I was surprised.
>
> Well, with the adults. And they (Captain and Officers) were saying "No, you can't do that". And of course when you have a whole deck full of people asleep out there, they gave up, they just gave up. Because, the (sleeping) mats were down and that was wonderful because at least you enjoyed your night.

Andrew's experience of the heat and discomfort of the sleeping quarters was not unique. The *Anna Salen*, on one voyage carried 1700 DPs plus staff. The limited space on board meant that up to 160 DPs on the stuffy lower deck slept in tiered bunks (Interview, Perry, 1992, quoted in Peters 2001).

The following images show the sleeping quarters below deck similar to what Andrew (left photo) was talking about and their unofficial "deck" sleeping quarters (right photo).

Image 3 Sleeping quarters on DP vessels

***Top left*:** sleeping quarters in the hold MV Anna Salen, 1949**.Source:** Peters, N., (2001), *Milk and honey – but no gold*, UWA Press, Nedlands, WA (p.82).
Top right: Sleeping on deck MV Anna Salen, 1949. **Source:** Peters, N., (2001), *Milk and honey – but no gold*, UWA Press, Nedlands, WA (p,92).
Permission to use copyright material granted by UWA Press.

It is interesting, therefore, to observe that the act of migration was not an instant solution to the difficulties that came from being displaced. The challenges of displacement in Europe with the search for security, food, and safety were replaced with different challenges, beginning with the journey to Australia. For some, it was life-changing even before arriving in Australia. Joseph, who was just five years old at the time, lost his father suddenly through illness on the trip to Australia. His mother decided to continue with the journey rather than turn back to Germany, where her own mother had fled from Czechoslovakia. While Joseph has retained little memory of that event, over the years, it seemed, he took on an unofficial role of responsibility, initially for his younger brother then for his mother, in spite of her later re-marrying.

From ship to shore - arrival in the Promised Land

When Angela's family disembarked at Melbourne port, they were immediately processed by immigration then put on a train to Bonegilla, 300 kilometres north of Melbourne. Angela described Bonegilla as "wasn't too bad, but it was cold in winter of course". She described the long Nissen huts, which had different purposes, such as the toilet block, sleeping quarters and the long benches in the cafeteria where they

had to line up for meals. Except for Helena's family, who went to an immigration hostel in the Perth suburb of Graylands, the same process occurred with almost all DPs with children in Western Australia.

Michael's arrival at Fremantle port, in Western Australia demonstrates the confusion surrounding their arrival as the families disembarked. He remembers that:

> I nearly got lost, because there was a lady wearing a blue dress with white polka dots, and she walked off and I thought it was my Mum, because it was the same dress my Mum was wearing, and I ran after her, and calling out, and my Mum had to run after me, and you can imagine, you know, a new place, you've got all your luggage, you've got your kid, then one kid decides to tear off after someone else.

It was not uncommon for ships to disembark their passengers at ports other than those they were destined for. The vessel that Andrew was on was meant for Melbourne but, due to industrial strife on the docks there, the DPs were put off in Fremantle. Kristina's family, however, disembarked in Fremantle due to her father's extreme seasickness. She remembers that it was her 4th birthday a few days after arriving and that on the train trip from Fremantle to Northam, the conductor gave her an orange: "I can remember this orange, you know, that he gave me an orange, and I'll never forget that".

Andrew's first impression of Fremantle was seeing the picture of a Dingo which was painted on a large industrial building on the coast while the ship was still in Gage Roads[58], something that he has never forgotten. He remembered that the medical immigration officers came on board before they were finally allowed to disembark. On the wharf, the DPs were sent to wait in D Shed ready to be processed. He recalled standing in line on the wharf with a tag around his neck which showed his immigration identity number and name and that all the DPs, including children, had to wear these.

The DP families arriving in Fremantle, WA's only receiving port, were sent initially to the converted Northam Army camp where they resided for a few weeks while waiting to be allocated employment. The other migrant centre, Holden camp, was

[58] Gage Roads is the name of the shipping lane outside Fremantle Harbour where ships wait their turn to enter the port.

used as a holding centre for women and children when the husband/father was absent, or working in remote areas without family accommodation. Jenifer's family, however, stayed in Northam only a few days before being forwarded to Cunderdin, a more remote country town approximately 30 kilometres east of Northam so farther from Perth. From here the family were sent to at least two other locations where the parent or parents worked out their two year government contract.

Andrew's memory of the trip to Northam was of the family being put on a small steam train, which he described as being "like a toy train", bound for Northam Army camp. Andrew described their arrival in Northam where, he said, they were "herded" from the train into buses and taken to the Army camp. Andrew observed that:

> Our status was not so much refugee, it was aliens. We were 'aliens'. These huts; five families to one hut, separated by blankets, the grey army blankets, which only went up a certain height, they didn't go all the way up. So, privacy was really non-existent because you could hear all the noises coming from all the different families and that. But what could you do, and again it was hot being November, end of November going into December.

The newly arrived DPs were aghast at having to live in similar, or even worse, conditions than they had in DP camps in Europe. Andrew absorbed the fact that:

> When we arrived we got located to our barracks, where we put our stuff then we were herded into a big hall where we were met by the Superintendents and so forth of the camp and we were given all the instructions on what we were allowed to do, what we were not allowed to do et cetera. And I think at that stage, most of the families were ready to go home. They did not want to stay. And I can – I didn't see it then but I can understand and see it now. It drove a lot of wives to suicide.

Andrew's family lived in the Northam camp for three or four months, which was a longer time than most families. He felt that the impact of hearing, in the camp, about women who had suicided had made him more fearful of losing his own mother and

that this affected his relationship with her. Consequently, he said, he became wary of becoming too emotionally attached to her.

The images below are of the Northam Army ("Top Camp") and Holden reception and training centres where DPs were accommodated when they arrived in WA.

Image 4: Northam reception and training centres

Top left: Hungarian family tending the garden at Northam Army "Camp".
Top right: Migrant family at Holden reception and training centre entrance, 1952, p.118..
Source: Peter, N., (2001) *Milk and honey – but no gold*, UWA Press, Nedlands, WA.
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The separation of families within the communal Nissen huts by blankets and the consequent lack of privacy, the heat – or cold – of the uninsulated building, were all factors with which the adults struggled as they tried to keep their children quiet and get them to sleep. However, for the children, it was their first taste of physical freedom following the long voyage from Europe. They enjoyed running around and hiding between the blanket barriers or they played and ran around outside with their friends, even though the friendships were of necessity short-lived due to the constant movement of families all over Western Australia.

Andrew was one of the children who revelled in his freedom. He said:

> We, or I myself, I looked on it as something that I couldn't do in Germany. I could run around, I could interact with other kids there, we could roam around, we could play without any barriers. There was barriers of course but to me that time, apart from any anxiety, it was a great time. I had lots of fun in the camp.

Jenifer was another child who enjoyed the freedom to roam, which she compared to the strictness of their camp in Africa, which was under the control of the British Armed Forces. Like many other families from the *General Langfitt*, which contained

the Polish DPs from Africa, Jenifer's family remained in the Northam Army camp for only a few days before being sent to Cunderdin reception centre. Other Polish DPs from the *General Langfitt* were also sent to Cunderdin migrant centre, the rest to various other parts of Western Australia.

For some children, however, arriving in Australia was like landing on another planet. Janina remembers her arrival in Western Australia:

> It was very, very hot and we were taken by bus to the Army camp in Northam. But what struck me was the single level small houses. They were just like little huts. It was *so different* from Europe. That's what really struck me. So in this really awful heat we were taken back into the Army camp in Northam, which was corrugated iron and unlined. We would have got there early in the afternoon but we were served breakfast and it was Weetbix and it tasted awful, everything tasted awful. Well, we certainly didn't have Weetbix or anything in Europe.
>
> In the camp, it was like long dormitories – you would have come across other people who went through that – that was divided with blankets and I was very struck by the naked light-globe because it was covered in flies and some people I think put up strips to catch the flies. But it was very hard to put children to sleep and I remember people wrapping like newspaper around the globes. Everything was very rudimentary … the collapsible stretcher camping beds and grey blankets. So people spent their time outside under the trees and gradually there were English classes and we were issued with clothes and I think a little bit of pocket-money and people were, after a while, going into town in Northam but it was a fair walk so everyone used to put their hand out and catch a lift. And the Aussies were *very* nice to the migrants. They were very basic, very different from European people.

Both Elka and Andrew spoke openly about the effect of living in camps and in isolation upon families around them. In Elka's case this extended to her own family. Elka's memories of the main DP camps in Northam were not positive. She related that after disembarking in Fremantle her family, with the other DP families, was loaded onto the back of a truck and driven to Northam Army camp. They lived in the Northam Army camp for approximately 2 months before being sent to Cunderdin where they then lived for 18 months. In Cunderdin, they were housed in buildings, not tents, and she has vivid memories of being quarantined with all the children when they contracted measles and having to wear red clothing. "But we had fun in that building", she said." You know, kids are kids, we all get into mischief. But yes, they had to put all the kids into the building. Because that's how bad it was".

Elka's family then returned to Northam where they lived in the Holden (holding) camp as her father had been sent to a remote area to work. She said:

> I went to school at the Holden camp. We lived in the bottom barracks first, which were the proper tin shacks, like the one at the Army Camp. And they were awfully hot, because you had your windows up high. And in the winter time they were cold and as people sort of moved out of the camp we sort of then progressed to the top of the camp where they had nicer barracks. You still had your walls at three quarters, right? But they were much nicer.

Memories

It became apparent when listening to and analysing the interviews from the child migrants that their migration process began much earlier than the parents' decision to migrate to Australia. Though Australia was the chosen destination for most of my interviewees' families, I was told that some were so anxious to escape from Europe because of their fear of the newly formed and very politically powerful Soviet Union that they boarded the first vessel they could get onto once they became eligible to migrate. Of interest was that people with ethnic German or Russian background, such as Angela's father, felt the most fear. Others migrated because they felt disadvantaged through having married "the enemy". For example, men or women of German background who married refugees of Polish or other Eastern European descent and vice versa felt they would be discriminated against if they remained in Germany and to return to Eastern bloc countries was not an option. Three of my

interviewees, Katie, Joanna, and Sonja had all been told by their German-born mothers that they were ostracised by some of their family members for marrying a refugee, as was my own mother.

The interviewees who were born during the war to DP parents still carry the memory of the turmoil and uncertainty of that period, specifically the latter years and post-war period. Even Andrew, who was born into a German household and had a happy, nurturing relationship with his grandparents, was affected when his parents separated post-war, leaving him displaced within his own family when his mother remarried to a refugee. He was further displaced by being taken to Australia, without choice. His migration story reflects the unhappiness that this brought him for most of his early life.

The absolute sense of responsibility for parents and siblings came out strongly among the older DP child migrants. There was no "child's play" for these children; they had to be responsible at a very young age. Not only had they been displaced a number of times, but they had experienced some very stressful events, some of which they had actually forgotten, or been unaware of, but later been told by other members of their families. For example, Janina's mother told her of an incident during their escape from Poland to Germany. She revealed that the family (without the father) had, with a group of other refugees, hidden in the carriage of a train bound for Berlin. Janina was huddled in a corner of the carriage wrapped in a feather doona to keep warm, when a Russian soldier climbed on board. Her mother was approached for sexual favours which she refused, and the soldier threatened to throw the family and all their meagre belongings (which would have included Janina who was wrapped up in the doona) out of the carriage. Fortunately, another passenger came to their aid so they were safe. Though Janina could not remember this event and possibly many other occasions when they were at risk, it is likely that she would have felt that sense of being endangered, (as had Angela when escaping Poland with her family). This would explain Janina's earlier statement about learning to keep quiet.

It was pointed out by a Bunbury focus group participant that, even as a toddler, the traumas of war still had an effect, which may not come through or be understood until later in life. Speaking about the shared or similar experiences of the participants in that focus group she said:

> So whatever happened to us in the war happened to us as children and maybe we can remember some of those experiences and maybe we can't. I have vague memories and they didn't mean anything at the time. But as you get older and you look back you realise what an effect that must have had on you. For example, I get startled very easily by loud noises. I get frightened. And for a long time I couldn't work out what it was. Part of it is because I'm hard of hearing and the other part of it is I think because my mother told me one experience when I was two and our town was getting bombed, I was in the cot screaming and she came and picked me up. Now those noises could have been what scares me, today. Who knows?

Journey and arrival

The journey to Australia, far from being a relief to DP families, continued to have an undercurrent of stress associated with it, as can be seen from the stories which were related by some of the interviewees. This experience was more difficult for the children who were quarantined on board due to being struck down by viral epidemics. It appears that memories of significant events are retained quite vividly by children.

The arrival in Australia, for some children, was uneventful insofar as they went unquestioning through the immigration process, not even wondering where they were to be sent. For those old enough to understand the difference between Europe and Australia, arrival in Fremantle and the subsequent trip to the Northam camps caused some shock. The DP children also experienced disorientation of time and space. For example, Janina, who spoke of how different she found the Western Australian landscape and the people she first came across, compared to Europe. Others spoke of the different types of food such as oranges, the mutton that they were given in the Northam camps and how the men caught rabbits for food, which the families cooked to suit their European tastes.

The children retained memories of the extreme weather conditions and the inadequacy of the accommodation, not only for the lack of space and privacy, but mainly for the lack of protection from the elements of the Australian climate. Yet, it

appears that they quickly developed an affinity for the Australian bushland environment, which became a main focus of their interaction with other children in the camps.

The DP families, when their boats berthed, were processed according to war-time procedures. That is, the immigration officials came on board when the ships containing DPs were waiting to enter the port, in this case, Fremantle. The passengers were then allowed to disembark, which they did in some disarray it seems, from Michael's narrative. Andrew told me they then had to wait in line on the wharf, each person wearing a tag around their neck with their name and immigration number, until they were checked in by immigration. The final stage of their arrival was to be placed upon the train, or a truck, to Northam where they were once again processed, allocated lodging and given the rules of the camp. In effect, the DPs *and their children* were still treated as prisoners even though they were now "free". This contrasted markedly with the way in which other migrants were received[59].

"Camp Australia"

Following their arrival and the usually short stay at the Northam Army camp, the interviewees, with their families, were mainly sent to locations outside Northam, and far from the Perth metropolitan area. It was at this point that the families of remote workers were moved to the Holden camp. The separation was difficult for the families[60]. However, life was also difficult for the families who were employed to work on the railways and main roads and, even though they were together, found themselves accommodated in tent camps. The harsh, isolated locations where DP families were sent to live and work in their first two or more years following migration, and the primitive conditions in which they lived formed the basis of my interviewees' first Australian experiences. That is, life in a DP tent camp, whether it was on a railway siding, on the outskirts of a country town or isolated many kilometres from any township and sometimes hundreds of kilometres from, Perth.

The interviewees who had arrived while they were young children but old enough to understand or take notice (those aged 3 and a half to 9 years), retained in their memories the rawness of that initial experience of settling into a foreign landscape,

[59] For example, non-DP migrants were either met on the wharf by their sponsors or families, or taken to a migrant hostel in Perth where they remained until their sponsor arrived (see Appendix 3).

[6060] Kunz (1988) states that the Australian public were unaware of this policy of separation until it was uncovered by the media in June/July 1950. From July 1950, instead of 2 of every 3 married men being separated from their families, it was 1 in 3 and of shorter duration (p.167).

culture, and having to learn a new language. Apart from those who stayed in the metropolitan area, the interviewees who came to Australia as children all related similar memories of workers' camps.

Michael described his first "home" in Western Australia, at a railway siding approximately 150 kilometres from Northam:

> Dad actually got a job in a place …., which I don't think exists now, might still be on some maps. It was a little siding between (two small country towns)….. but I remember we were taken in the back of a truck. Back of a tip truck was our transport. No bus, air conditioned bus or anything like that. Freezing cold! Rugged up and (laughs) my introduction was to Freddo Frogs[61] *then*.
>
> And then when we arrived there, we all just got chucked out of the truck, and our accommodation was – tents! So *we* slept in one, Mum and Dad they slept in the other, and the iron beds … with paillasses, which is just hessian bags filled with straw, that was our mattress, and whatever bedding we had. The kitchen was open on one side; it was just corrugated iron, and open on one side

Image 5: Family accommodation

Left: View of Swan View tent camp 1950 which was set up the other side of the railway tracks from the Station Master's house. View is from the platform.

Source and permission to use photo: Mrs Beryl Hogan, who lived at the station with her husband, the Station Master, and young daughter. The family was amazed to see the tent camp erected in a couple of hours, then DPs were trucked in and left there.

[61] Freddo Frogs were chocolates shaped like frogs.

Left: Migrant familiy outside their Northam tent home. **Source:** Peter, N., (2001), *Milk and honey – but no gold*, UWA Press, Nedlands, WA. ***Permission to use copyright material granted by UWA Press.***

Right: Photo of a Nissen hut in Narrogin, This hut was accommodation for DP families on their arrival in WA and is one of three huts which have now been heritage listed.
***Accessed*:**
http://www.stateheritage.wa.gov.au/news/2015/01/22/western-australia-s-migrant-history-celebrated **© Heritage Council of WA**. ***Permission to use copyright material granted***.

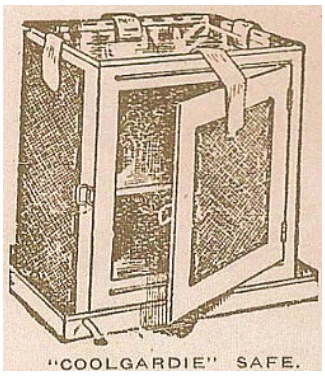
Michael's family, with all the other DPs in the camp, were soon reallocated to another railway siding, due to trouble with the local people. He remarked ironically upon the second camp that they were sent to:

> [There] we had a rather luxurious set-up. We had *three* tents. One was like a spare tent. It was for things like our Coolgardie safe[62] (see Image 6 below) and our bath full of rainwater, and other things. And the two were the bedrooms. And it was all sort of joined together in like a cross shape with the kitchen, some sort of kitchen, but it had been enclosed with sleepers, with railway sleepers. So, had the railway sleepers for the floor, a canvas roof and a sort of home-made door. Yes. So we lived there ... for quite a while, and because there were a lot of Poles there, you know, it was fairly communal. There's still, you know the water, there were times when the water did not

[62] My Australian neighbours in Toodyay had a Coolgardie Safe in their home, as well as an electrically powered refrigerator. They brought the Safe with them from the Goldfields (near Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie) in Western Australia. It was a metal or wood framed box on legs, the sides were made of metal mesh over which hung hessian bags. On top was a tray of water or ice and at the base a metal tray. The principle was that the hessian bags would absorb the water from the top tray, the water would then run down the sides of the metal box. This then created a cooling system based upon the principle of evaporative cooling.

arrive, or it was rusty or the toilets were sort of up on the other side, you know, the old toilets standing on the other side of the road. And I remember once where one of these willy-willies[63] came through one summer, I was in there, and it knocked it over. It was a bit of fun in the camp (laughs)

Image 6: Home constructed Coolgardie Safe



Source::Accessed http://pickeringbrookheritagegroup.com/sawmills4.html.Permission to use image granted by Pickering Brook Heritage Group.

Like Michael, Andrew, then aged 9, also spent his early migration period in an isolated location north of Perth:

> They took our gear and that and took us down to our new accommodation in (coastal town), which was the railway yards. There was a metal fence and there was a space, probably about 30, 40 feet and then you had your first set of railway line where they shunted the trains. And there was five families. Four families were Polish and the other family was us (Yugoslav/German). And there were the two tents, a heap of straw, and there was the mattress. There were the kerosene (Tilly) lamps for the lights and that was it

Janina's memory was that:

> Initially we were allocated a tent, or 2 tents, and a corrugated little separate part, which was the kitchen, with a little dirt floor. Directly behind us were a

[63] A willy-willy is like a mini-tornado in that it is a visible spiral of dust and debris that sweeps through the landscape, usually in summer when the landscape is dry. Usually the force of the willy-willy is minor so no damage is caused.

> lot of granite outcrops and I'm sure snakes would come down but I never saw one. Then we got a little cabin, after about a year.

Most DP families left the country areas where they had been allocated to work on completion of their contracts, but their movement to the regional and city areas added to the shortage of accommodation within those areas and Australia-wide. Therefore, though it was possible for DP families to have access to better accommodation as it became available, although this did not often appear to occur. Most of the interviewees stated that their families saved till they could provide their own accommodation once they had left the camps, so most child migrants lived in very basic conditions for some time. However, the West Australian Government Railways (WAGR) later provided proper houses for its workers, including the DP families. My Godparents, who had migrated as DPs on the same ship as my parents, lived for many years in Northam in one of these houses.

Due to the lack of facilities and resources and the need for families to be self-sufficient; the 2nd generation became familiar from a very young age on how to be resourceful to survive. In the outer camps, families kept poultry, trapped wild rabbits, and many grew fruit and vegetables. Children were allocated their own tasks, such as collecting firewood, feeding the chickens, watering the garden; and so became quite responsible within the family from a young age. Janina's main responsibility while the family was in one of the Northam camps, was looking after their garden:

> And she (Janina's mother) set up a big garden which I used to have to water, and I used to say rosary beads while I was watering, because you could use as much water as you wanted to. She was growing little cucumbers to pickle, which is *so* Polish, and tomatoes. So we had that. Then everyone started to keep chooks. Just, they bought one and they fenced them off. But so they wouldn't get mixed up they had little blue rings (around their feet).

The tent city where Walter lived until he went to school at the age of six was located on the outskirts of Northam. He stressed that this was not a camp, such as the Army camp where people stayed on arrival, but another, which had evolved as DPs needed accommodation when they had to leave the Army camp. It was a WAGR owned tent

city with some cabins and tents on concrete slabs that the DPs laid as floors and was known as “Calico City” which, he says, has long been dismantled.

Andrew’s family was one of the few DP families lucky enough to access better accommodation while in a workers’ camps:

> They (the employers) had a hut which had two rooms, a wooden hut which was being used at that stage, while we were there, by an Australian family but they were leaving to go somewhere else. So my step-father applied for the hut and got it, so we moved from the tent into luxury. Electric lights, proper table, chairs, beds. So they saw the time out, the two years.

Andrew’s accommodation contrasted with Michael’s, highlighting the broad range of experiences among the DP families living at their workplaces.

The lack of basic facilities would have been very stressful for families and not the ideal environment for children to grow up in. Even DP children who were Australian-born lived in tent camps for many years. Paul, Australian-born and second of three siblings, remembers that when he was about four years of age: “I remember the tent, I remember living in the tents”. Paul’s family lived in a tent camp in a small country town for six years, during which time Paul was born. They left the tent camp when he was five years of age. Monika, at three and a half years old when she arrived in Western Australia, did not remember being in the Northam Army camp, but had positive memories of her childhood years living in a wheat-belt “tent city” outside the town. She recalled that:

> I do remember we lived in a tent. Tent for our bedroom and (a) woodshed, a tin shed for our kitchen. I remember that. And I remember us getting ready to walk down the street to the shops. I wanted to stay in the town because there was another couple of ladies and a few kids. I do remember playing a little bit, where we were, the migrants were. Lots of tents and that. A tent city, I suppose. But - - yeah, we had a good life. We didn't have much, but Mum and Dad always made sure we had, and they went without.

Even though some families chose to remain in tent accommodation while they earned money to establish themselves, they were, for years, living in isolation

without transport, communications, electricity, adequate shelter, and water supply. However, not all of the interviewees lived in tent camps. The Wundowie Iron and Steel Foundry, only about 20km from Northam, employed many Polish DPs and other migrants, as well as Australians, and accommodated them within the town, close to the foundry. The interviewees who grew up in Wundowie initially lived in a camp and then in wooden huts with tin roofs. They also had access to the same facilities as the Australian families and the children all attended the same primary school. Additionally, all members of the Wundowie foundry community belonged to the social club as membership fees came out of the workers' wages (interview Bernard) so it was an inclusive community.

The oldest members of this cohort were the most likely to have experienced the isolation of living in tent camps. It was unusual for families to remain in that situation for more than the two year period of their work contracts though, as can be seen, this did occur. The majority of DP families moved to larger regional towns or to outer suburbs of Perth, where they continued working for the railways or other government services. Generally, interviewees who were born in Australia and had older siblings, only remembered growing up in either country towns or in the outer suburbs of Perth, not in camps.

Paul's story is typical of the migration patterns of the older interviewees' within Western Australia. The following provides a clear outline of the progression between camps and the final settlement into the, mainly Polish, community in a Perth suburb. However, it is not as typical for the families who remained in remote areas for many years:

> So from (wheatbelt town) he (Paul's father) got a transfer to Midland, but they didn't live in Midland. What they did, they got a transfer….. what is called now Stratton, it was called the Wexcombe Railway Estate, and hundreds of, mostly made up of ethnics, people who were migrants, from not only Europe but mostly Europe and the UK. *Hundreds* of them there. Those who worked in the railways, they lived there. Either you lived in what they called a log cabin, which was a wooden structure, and that was our first abode, a wooden structure log cabin type. Oh!, Before that actually we came

to Swan View. That's right, from (wheat-belt town) we came to Swan View which is just up Morrison Road, Great Eastern Highway (see image 5). On the right side there is a bit of a memorial, it used to be a station, then you turn around to go up to Greenmount, there is a big dip there on the right, and this is where quite a few migrants lived. We lived in tents, but Dad still worked in the railways.

(There was) quite a colony of migrants. The Polish Priest used to come once a week to say Mass, and we lived in tents, they were tents there. Ah, and I went to a little school in Swan View, it wasn't for a very long time, might have been a year, or less. But the Polish Priest used to come up and say Mass at different people's places. I remember him going to our place, to the tent there, and Dad set it up with an altar and what have you. So they used to say Mass there once a week …. After, from Swan View then we went to Stratton, that was the railway estate, a very large population of European immigrants … and they had the general store, they had a large Nissen hut which was used for showing films, and the youth club for the young people. … but you had the actual huts there, the log cabin, and then you graduated to what was called Nissen huts. There were two types of Nissen huts, you had the Nissen hut with just a little porch in the front and a couple of bedrooms for one family but then if you had say two children, for example, then the next step was a Nissen hut with a veranda.

… that was an open veranda where you could sit and it had an extra bedroom, it probably had three bedrooms, because the other ones with just a little porch, probably two bedrooms. So we first of all lived in the log cabin and my sister was born, she was the second born, then we moved across and lived

> in the porch type Nissen hut as there were only two children, and when my brother was born, still in (outer suburb), so we graduated to a Nissen hut with three bedrooms. My father worked on the railways. The bus used to come each morning and pick all the workers up and take them to the Midland workshops. … Some people rode their bikes there. But the community had quite a lot of social activity, they had their own soccer club which was made up of people from the UK, all over Europe, and then the picture fellow used to come once a week and show the pictures in the large Nissen hut, and then they had dances, youth club, I used to go to the youth club on Friday nights, … then Dad bought a block here in Midland. … They built a three bedroom brick and tile house there and he kept working in the workshops".

As Pieter was only about 18 months old when his family came to Australia, his earliest memories are of the house in which they lived when he was growing up:

> It was extremely hot in summertime. But we came out, then we went to the Northam camp, and we were there for a while. And then Dad … he left there and got a job in the railways. He built the bigger house, which was just the two bedroom thing, you know, sort of kitchen-dining area, and then one bedroom, and everybody slept in there. If I remember rightly, (older brother) slept in the little shed. … Well, once he built the two bedroom house, then Dad built a fibro house and now I can't remember, but it must have taken him probably about 4 or 5 years to build. When they had the money, they would buy material and start building, and when they could afford it they'd add some more onto the house and stuff, so it took a few years for the house to actually come together.

Pieter's story was not unfamiliar as most of the interviewees' families underwent a similar transition to either purchasing or building their own homes. Moreover, this

was a typically migrant activity not confined to DPs as many other European migrants to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s did the same.

Helena's case was slightly different to the other interviewees as, she was told, her mother refused to go to the Northam camp and her baby brother was seriously ill in the children's hospital. The family was instead sent to the Department of Immigration Accommodation centre at Swanbourne Army Barracks in Perth, where they stayed until they could afford to rent a room to live in, so accommodation was very cramped. "And so," she declared, "the five of us slept in a double bed and a camp bed. So, four people in a double bed, one Granny in a camp bed!"

This situation was obviously untenable and it was not long before the family purchased a home in the metropolitan area. Helena remembers going to an elderly lady's house in Perth each week to pay towards the purchase of their home. The debt took ten years to pay off.

Early community life

Despite the physical hardships, many of the interviewees who lived in migrant camps when they were young spoke positively about community interactions. It seems that they gained a rich sense of community from those times, which they treasured throughout their lives. Those in country towns or metropolitan suburbs with large migrant communities also gained benefit from this.

Janina, after her initial shock of seeing the Northam Army camp when she arrived in Australia, came to appreciate the communal atmosphere among the migrants. She said that:

> In the camps there was excellent community. A lot of babies were born and there were Christenings, a lot of parties, and about every second week someone would have a party and a Polish party at that, where you had a long table laden with food, lots of vodka and before you know it all these people were singing all these Polish songs. Or they'd dance or...

Jenifer too was in her element in Cunderdin camp:

> I like meeting people. Especially Australian people where we've met, and when we lived in the tent we did have Italian, German, like, you know, meeting up. We'd sort of pick up and then I always used to say to the Italians,

> "I don't want to learn Italian, you've got to talk to me in English" so they talked to me in English, not German or anything. We're in Australia now, we don't have to talk German or Italian. I also used to love foreign music. On the weekend we all used to get together, like, you know, community or whatever we're having on the weekend. The Italians bring their piano accordions, and the Germans bring whatever and we all call each other cabbage munchers, spaghetti munchers. No one got upset or hurt. We had it really good you know.

Almost all of the interviewees who lived in DP/migrant communities spoke of the way in which community members assisted each other as they tried to establish themselves. They perceived this as a positive outcome of community and it appears that this sense of community among DPs has become, for the 2nd generation, part of their DP heritage.

Bernard told me that his father was first to own a television in their camp, when it first came out in 1956 and that every evening about 30 of the camp residents used to huddle together, trying to view the shows. "We, all the 21, 31 (residents), *all* the camp, sitting at the back trying to watch TV, which was black and white". By this stage the camp residents had moved into their new company houses, where they had electricity. But, he said, before moving, his mother still had to use a washboard and that "we had the Coolgardie Safe in the camp, cause a fridge was a luxury, you couldn't have luxuries".

As there was no public transport, apart from the school bus, and none of their families had motor vehicles, my interviewees, living in the tent camps, had little contact with local, or indeed, any other people apart from the other workers and their families. Without means of transport, even pushbikes, they were confined to the camp and surrounding bushland. Even the Army camp in Northam was isolated from the main shopping and business precinct. Due to lack of finance or opportunity to buy, to own a vehicle was, for many, a dream:

> We were separated from the road with barbed wire fence and sometimes Dad and I would watch cars going by. The cars were black usually and I'd say

> "Dad will we have a car one day?" "Yes." You know, just fulfilling my dreams (Janina).

Given the frequent references to the DP/migrant communities in which the 2nd generation grew up, it is interesting to note that many of the communities were most likely short-lived. The constant, usually compulsory, relocation of families which also caused the break-up of newly formed migrant communities was normal for the 2nd generation DP children. Many of the interviewees were relocated a number of times during their parents' two year work allocations, and sometimes for a few years afterwards. For example, Jenifer's family lived in tents for two years before moving to a small railway siding for another 12 months. After this time, because her father worked for the State Government railways, the family was relocated a number of occasions, including to Perth, before finally settling into a country town.

Once the interviewees' were relocated to less isolated areas and settled into their new homes, they had greater access to medical, educational, recreational and other services, which they did not have in their first two years – or had only to a limited extent. They also had better access to schools, rather than having to travel for long distances on the school bus. In Perth and Northam, the Polish DPs began to establish Polish associations which, for some of my interviewees, became an important part of their lives.

The interviewees of part-German descent had only indirect contact with German associations. One interviewee's father was a member of Rhein-Donnau club and her daughter when younger had belonged to a German dance group. Another interviewee did not join any German association but her mother was a member even at the time these interviews were taking place. So, unlike the interviewees of Polish background, those of German background had no real German community while they were growing up, except perhaps some contact with their parents' German friends.

Interviewees, such as Sylvia, whose parents were part of a migrant community, had happy memories of the social environment in which they grew up. Sylvia recalled the extravagantly catered parties that her parents would give, inviting all of their migrant friends and later including their Australian friends. Others talked about the Christenings and weddings as well as social events associated with the Polish clubs and churches, especially in places, such as Bellevue, an outer Perth suburb, where many of them later lived. I too remember many of these occasions with pleasure.

They were inclusive of children and it was a community with people from a number of nationalities all coming together.

Innovation and ingenuity

While little was said about their own adaptability, most of the children noticed how their parents adapted to living in their new country as well as how they dealt with the alien environment. For example, Michael noted that his father and the other Polish DPs working on the railway siding could cope with the winter cold but found it difficult to tolerate the extreme heat. Living in uninsulated tents and without any electrically driven cooling devises, even refrigeration, their solution was to dig "cellars" into the earth where the workers sat to escape the heat of the day. Other memories included how their Russian neighbour assisted the family by making them a wooden cart to collect their wood as well as a metal bath made from sheet metal panels.

> … a Russian neighbour, who was an older man, and he had his family which, they were like Dad's age, but this guy was a Granddad. So ... but he was very clever. He made things. And he made us a bath out of corrugated iron. He riveted things by belting them on the railway line. And we had that bath for 10 years".

It was interesting that the 2nd generation, growing up in families which survived on very little initially, had not really given much thought to how that affected them in their own attitudes. In fact, it had a definite effect. One (Bunbury) focus group participant, when discussing her upbringing, told the group:

> And…one of the things I remember most about my upbringing, was [that] anything that had to be done in the house, and my father built his own house, made his own bricks, dug the foundation, did the whole works, as did many, *many* of our friends where I grew up. And they helped each other. "I'm putting the foundations down on Sunday, can you come and give me a hand?" "Sure" and then, you know. But they could do anything else. When I got my first bike my father, step-father, but he's my father, taught me how to oil the

chain, fix the tyres, anything. He could do anything and so could my mother, and so could all the other people (in the migrant and DP community) that had come out (to Australia).

Another participant agreed, recalling that:

To be honest with you, I'd never really thought about it until – my daughter's 30 and she would have been about 7, 8 (years old) I suppose. It was over 20 years ago. And one day something came up and she said: "Oh, you'll be off doing something with somebody" and I said "Why?" and she said "You always are. You're over here helping this man put his fence up or fixing his gutters" or whatever else it is. But I never really sort of thought about it in that light. And then just recently my oldest grand-daughter, she's 8, but about 2 years ago she said: "My *Jadek* (Grandfather) can do anything" and I sort of thought about it. *Yes, I can*. If I can't I'll have a go at it, ok. And people have said "Can you tell me about this" or whatever, and I say "Yeah, I can certainly tell you about it. It might not be the truth but I can tell you about it". That's what I'm saying. That stems back about what you're (first participant) saying about, now, later on in life, but as young ones we never felt that, or I certainly didn't.

Trouble and tragedy

The effect of being isolated from the main community and necessary resources had its impact and the extreme distance from medical facilities had sometimes devastating effects on infant mortality and accidents within the families took their toll. Often the DPs would have to ask the farmers for lifts into town to visit the doctor. Michael told me that his younger sister, while just a baby, died from what he described as "part of it was I think from medical neglect in those days" through being too far from any medical assistance.

Even at his young age Michael felt his parents' grief over the loss of their child, whose grave was located within sight of the workers' camp communal laundry area:

> I didn't realise until I saw her death certificate many days later, it was the day after my birthday, and you know, the great sadness and the funeral. I do remember us going down to the grave, Dad going to the grave and that really broke him up.
>
> (U): "Yes. I mean you even look sad about it yourself now".
>
> Yes. And something I didn't realise was how sad it made my mother, because when she went out to hang up the washing, she'd turn around, you could see the graveyard from where we lived. And so it was very sad for her, and … yes.

What Michael didn't say, but what was evident from his demeanour and the tone in his voice as he related this story is that his parents' grief and the loss of his baby sister still saddened him over fifty years later.

This tragedy later determined where the family lived, which ironically was to Michael's advantage. His father, a Polish farmer, loved the countryside and wanted to find remain in the country. This caused difficulty as Michael's mother had been brought up in the city and, because of the death of their child, was adamant that she would not live in another camp in the country. Michael became involved in this conflict. He was eleven years old at the time:

> Nineteen-fifty-seven (1957) I think it was, they actually closed down the gangs, so Dad had to be transferred, and he wanted to go to (a southwest town). He was transferred to the town, which is near Lake Grace, and Mum refused to go, because she was pregnant, which at my age I didn't realise that. But I remember … helping them write letters and (them) arguing about it because you know, she'd lost one child living in the bush without hospital accommodation. She was pregnant, she didn't want to be anywhere there

> wasn't a hospital. So they actually got a transfer to (another country town), which is back near Northam again.

The town they moved to near Northam had a Polish community, which Michael enjoyed, not feeling so isolated as he had in the previous town where they had been living.

Living in the tent camps, however, was not a safe environment for children, even though they relished the physical freedom they had. The possibilities of fire, inability to access medical assistance and insect or snakebite were real factors. Daniel confirmed how easy it was for snakes to get into the tents:

> In (wheat-belt town), I remember we lived in tents, earthen floor, tents, and a lean-to for a kitchen like those sleepers with the piece of tin on top…. I remember snakes coming in there at night.

Additionally, even though the DPs were isolated, many kilometres from the Australian community and each other, their presence was still, to some Australians, unwelcome. The DPs in Michael's first camp were shocked to find the strength of this feeling and they reacted quickly to the physical and psychological threat of violence against their families, as Michael described:

> Then the next event that happened that I remember was some young guys, some young Aussie guys turned up in the back of a ute with a rifle and started shouting at us, "Get out of here! You don't bloody belong here, we'll shoot you". You know, that sort of thing. So all the men went on strike. They didn't go to work. They said "We're not leaving our wives and children behind with these maniacs. We want to get out of here."

Following this incident, the camp was disbanded and the families sent to different locations throughout WA. I assumed that Michael would have been traumatised by this event but he was quite philosophical, stating that it would have been more alarming for the adults because, as a child, he did not fully understand what had happened. What he *did* remember clearly was one night being woken by screams; people were running around with buckets of water, madly trying to put out a fire in one of the tents. One worker had been so cold that he had put a stove in his tent,

which then set it on fire. There was no running water at the site so the residents had to douse the fire from their precious, scarce supply from the water tank at the siding, maybe even the rainwater stores[64].

Regina, also remembers a bush fire in the original Wundowie Iron and Steel Foundry camp, which consisted of buildings constructed of timber and metal. Even though she was still very young, she clearly remembered the fire and people running for safety. As their home was close to the foundry and the bushland she believed that the fire was caused through the bushland having never been burned off before. The outcome of the fire was that the State Government then provided housing of iron and asbestos, which was built further from the foundry site, for the workers.

Michael was the only interviewee who brought up such an extreme example of the anti-refugee feeling among some of the local Australians. Helena, whose family was in the metropolitan area, also spoke of overt antagonism from local people through their envy of her parents' (perceived) financial success. Living in a less wealthy area of Perth, Helena said, many of the Australian-born families there were suffering financially, so they reacted badly when their children saw what Helena and her brother possessed:

> We, my brother and I, had everything, never denied anything. We had luxury. And those kids lived in a completely different way to this, *completely* different. So we'd sneak them into our house, if Mum and Gran were home we'd say "You can come in for one minute, but then you have to go." And they'd have a look, and they'd be shocked at what we had. Then the next day they'd be abusive towards us, so instead of being a friend because you let them in, they say, "You've got ... You've got our jobs." So then it started. And the kids really learnt from their parents.

Helena's case is a stark contrast to those of my interviewees who lived in remote tent camps in that her family had accumulated enough wealth to provide them with luxuries. It highlights the accessibility to goods and services that were available to those in more populated areas, but not in remote areas.

[64] There would have been no artesian basin or reservoir from which they could draw water. Michael also earlier mentioned having a bath full of rainwater in the tent so this may have been their reserve supply.

Separation

A well-known fact, yet something which is rarely discussed in research in the field of Australian migration, was the effect upon the 2nd generation DPs when their families were separated during their first two years of migration. This occurred when the father was sent to an extremely remote location for work. This is a remarkable omission, as Australia was the only IRO receiving country which had this policy. At least two of the interviewees spoke of the problems that the separation policy caused within families. Andrew spoke about the effect upon some of the women who were isolated, bored, and emotionally unsupported. He believed it was a cause of marital breakdown, and also suicide. Elka held a similar view. However, the separation within her family affected her more personally.

Elka described her situation:

> As you know, the men were taken away. They'd have a two year contract and my dad got a job at CBH[65] and he'd be home perhaps once in six weeks, once in two months because, well it was far away and there was no transport so you couldn't ... Who would take you on a lift? And not many people had cars those days either.

She also spoke of the violence she remembered in the camps:

> And in camps you saw a lot of that, where the husbands belted their wives. Right? Well I suppose distrust. I mean husband went away, didn't come home for two months. You visualise all sorts of things. So yes, my dad used to belt my mother up and when he'd come from his six weeks trip, away from home, first thing he did he belted her up".
>
> Child abuse was rife... in the camps, (she continued passionately). All the kids got belted. You speak - you speak to all us oldies. We all got belted up for something. You know? And sometimes it was so trivial. Because, it was the frustration. You know, you come to a new country, it's hot, the food's

[65] Commonwealth Bulk Handling, the government owned railway company transported wheat from the wheat-belt sidings for export or sale, was a large employer of DPs and migrants.

terrible, husband's taken away. People fight in the camp plus the kids fight. It's... yes.

As the oldest child and in the absence of her father Elka had to take responsibility for her siblings. That is, she became the "second mother". She also bore the brunt of her parents' marital conflicts whenever her father returned to the camp and her mother's frustration when he was away. She explained: "So yes, mum was very vicious. She used to belt me up. You know, as hard, as cruel as she was, she always beat me between my shoulder and my bum, so any clothes you wore... no-one'd see. No-one."

While many families gradually settled in once they had completed their initial work contracts, some still had other issues to deal with. Elka's life remained a difficult one due to the conflict within her family in which she became unwillingly involved and culminating in her father having a schizophrenic episode which endangered the lives of herself and her mother and they had to escape to a refuge until her father could be treated. After this her parents divorced. Whether this would have occurred if the family had not been separated so soon after arriving in Australia is supposition, but it was clear from what she told me that the separation certainly exacerbated the situation between her parents when her father was at home. The effect on Elka of the forced separation of her family was extremely negative and one which has affected the way in which she now interacts with people. "I find it very hard to make friends" she said, "because I don't trust people. That's my biggest fault I've got. I'm friendly. I'd do anything for them but I have, I don't trust". In spite of this, she is, at the same time, a fully contributing and respected member of her neighbourhood.

The memories within this cohort varied. It is clear that many of them lived isolated from the Australian communities in the first two years while others born in Australia were still to some extent isolated within their DP/migrant communities. For the older DPs, there were few pleasant memories of their voyage and arrival in Australia, though, as Andrew told me, the American sailors attempted to look after the children by giving them treats. Again, they remembered the rudimentary accommodation that they were allocated, though they seemed to have adjusted. Being young children they would not have known anything different until they had further contact with the Australian people in the towns and cities.

Education and employment

It is interesting to note that the interviewees in my cohort had a relatively high level of educational achievement, especially given their early circumstances. From the interviews that I undertook, I noted that there were a number of issues that the 2nd generation faced in regard to education. Some were specific to them as DP children, others were more general and were issues experienced by most other migrant children as well.

Educational achievements

Of the 30 interviewees, 15 completed their formal education[66]. to Year 12; 2 to Year 11; 10 to Year 10; 3 to Year 9. Following formal education, 15 of the 30 interviewees continued on with their education as soon as they completed their level of formal education, though one only for 6 months secretarial training. Six of the interviewees carried out further studies or training as mature age students, and those who did not continue with further study, including those who later studied as mature age students, entered the work force as soon as they left school[67]. Only one interviewee from the cohort did not state whether she had continued with extra education or training.

Cohort differences

A comparison has been made between the educational achievements of child DPs who came to Australia after the age of 3.5 years and the rest of the cohort. Given the lack of resources in their early years, while living in tent camps and exposed primarily to their migrant communities, I was surprised how well the child migrants achieved in their education. Table 3 below gives the educational status of child migrants (3.5 years and over); child migrants 0-3.5 years and Australian-born 2nd generation. As can be seen by comparing the tables, there is very little difference between the two groups.

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[66] When talking about the level of education, I only mean that the person was enrolled at this level, not necessarily completing or passing this level. Some of the interviewees, for various reasons were not able to complete the full year.

[67] * At this time there were two levels of High School completion, Junior Certificate and Leaving Certificate. As some of the cohort did not actually complete or pass these certificates though did complete the schooling, I have used the contemporary equivalent of these levels. Junior Certificate year is shown as Year 10 and Leaving is shown as Year 12. At this time there was also the Matriculation level which was done in conjunction with the Leaving year, Year 12, entailing extra study in the upper High School curriculum. The Matriculation level enabled direct entry into University. None of the cohort mentioned Matriculation, though at least one participant did commence a degree at University.

Table 3: Education child migrants 3.5 years and over

Year of birth	Gender	Age on migration	Formal education (yrs 1-12) (M/A=mature age)	Further education (tertiary/occupational/none) (M/A=mature age)
1940	F	9	9	Business college 6 months
1941	M	9	12	Trade certificate
1945	F	8	12 (Completed within 10 years)	Teachers' college
1943	F	7	12	Nursing Certificate
1942	F	6	12	No
1944	F	5.5	12	Diploma (M/A)
1944	M	5	12	Teachers' college
1945	F	5	10	Business college
1945	M	5	10	Trade apprenticeship
1946	F	4	10	Secretarial studies
1946	F	4	10	No

1946	M	4	12	Business Management (M/A)
1946	M	4	12	Accounting (M/A)
1946	F	3.5	9	No

Table 4: Education child migrants 0-3.5 years and Australian-born

Year of birth	**Gender: F=female M=Male**	**Formal education (yrs1-12)***	**Further education (tertiary/occupational/none) (M/A = mature age)**
1947	F	12	University degree
1949	M	10	Trade qualification
1949	F	10	Secretarial college
1950	M	10	No
1950	M	12	Non-completion of Tertiary Degree (M/A) then Diploma (M/A)
1951	M	11	Technical training (M/A)
1952	F	10	No
1952	F	12	Teachers' college
1952	F	12	No
1952	M	12	Trade apprenticeship
1954	M	9	Occupational training
1954	F	10	No

1957	F	10	University (M/A)
1959	F	12	Not stated
1961	F	12	Enrolled nurse training
1965	F	11	No

Gender

Comparing Tables 5 and 6, below it can be surmised that gender issues were of importance in the educational attainment within this cohort, disadvantaging the females in comparison to their male siblings. Even though the females had overall high levels of formal education, just under half of the group achieved educational level to year 12, compared to fifty percent of the males. However, a similar number of females and males continued their education to higher levels, including Teachers' College, nursing institutions, or Technical College (TAFE).

Some of the females of this cohort informed me that they were expected, at year 10 level, to finish their schooling in order to contribute to the family income (Table 5). That is, in many families there was a culture which discriminated against the daughters in their education. This attitude was not exclusive to DP families but also existed in Australian and other migrant families. When females were encouraged to continue with advanced education it was generally to take up professions, such as teaching or nursing or even secretarial college. Teaching was considered as a high status profession among the DPs with whom my parents mixed, as was nursing. Even better, nursing was similar to a cadetship in that student nurses were a paid workforce during their 3 year Certificate course, so there would be no further drain on the family finances. Teacher training, a Diploma course at that time, however, required some financial support during the then 2-year program.

As with the females, many of the males in this cohort entered occupation-driven education after leaving high school, such as trade apprenticeships, and most of the males who finished school at Year 10 went straight into these apprenticeships. The number of trade apprenticeships, as well as variety of career choices for males, was much more extensive and had greater scope for advancement than for the females in this cohort.

Table 5: Education level female 2nd generation

Case No.	Gender	Formal education (yrs1-12)*	Further education (tertiary/occupational/none) (M/A=mature age)	Comments
1	F	12	Enrolled nurse training	
3	F	10	University (M/A)	Left school to support family finances
4	F	10	No	"Too far to travel" to nearest senior high school. Moved to Perth to find employment.
5	F	9	Business college 6 months	
6	F	11	No	
7	F	9	No	"I didn't like school"; wanted to work"
8	F	12	No	
9	F	12	Diploma (M/A)	
10	F	10	Secretarial studies	Left school due to family economic circumstances
12	F	12	Teachers' College	

16	F	12	No	
19	F	10	Secretarial college	Was told: "you're just going to get married and have kids. What is the point of more education?"
20	F	10	No	
22	F	12	Nursing certificate	
23	F	12	Teacher's college	Completed formal education to Year -12 within 10 years
25	F	10	No	
26	F	10	Business college	
27	F	12	University degree	Study interrupted due to family conflicts. Later returned to complete a Bachelor of Arts
29	F	12	Not stated	

Female

Nine of the females in this cohort completed Year 12, with one continuing her studies at university, initially as a Law Degree which, due to family circumstances she abandoned, later returning to complete a Bachelor of Arts Degree. Two of the women continued their tertiary level study at Teachers' College; two entered the nursing profession; of the interviewees completing their formal education at years 9 and 10, 4 trained in secretarial studies, though one only for 6 months before finding employment. While 12 of the female cohort continued with further education or training on leaving left high school, three as mature age students, eight of the females had no further education or training after their formal education was completed, one did not state whether she did further training or education.

Table 6: Education level male 2nd generation

Case No.	**Gender**	**Formal education (yrs1-12) (M/A=mature age)**	**Further education (tertiary/ occupational/ none) (M/A=mature age)**	**Comments**
2	M	10	No	
12	M	11	No	
14	M	12 (M/A)	Financial Management	Repeated and passed Year 12 after leaving school.
15	M	12	Accounting (M/A)	Mature age studies, night school
16	M	10	Trade qualification	Completed 5-year apprenticeship in 4 years
18	M	10	Occupational training (M/A)	Completed occupational training course 3

				years after commencing work
19	M	12	No	
24	M	12	Teacher's college	
29	M	12	Trade apprenticeship	
28	M	10	Trade apprenticeship	
30	M	12	Diploma (M/A)	

Males

Six of the twelve males completed their formal education to Year 12, one to Year 11, and five to year 10. Of the males completing school to Year 12, three later completed further studies at night school, while the others continued their education from high schoo: one to Teachers' College, another entering an engineering apprenticeship, while just one did not pursue further occupational education, going straight into the workforce as did the interviewee who went to Year 11. This last interviewee and one of the interviewees who went to Year 10 did further study as mature age students. Three of the four male interviewees who completed Year 9 moved straight into trade apprenticeships while two went straight from school into the workforce. Only three males (compared to 9 of the females) in this cohort undertook no further education or training after leaving high school.

Factors affecting education

It can be argued, and rightly so, that though the DP children had issues in schooling relating to their difference and the initial language barrier, other migrant children faced similar difficulties. When I carried out my pilot interview with Harry, who was from a post-WWII migrant Dutch family which migrated to Australia in the 1950s, he revealed to me that at the Catholic school he attended in a Perth suburb he was treated as an outsider, that he was taken to the front of the class and they "made you

feel different" because he was unable to speak English. His wife later confided to me that Harry had previously refused to talk about his school days, because he hated that time so much.

This is not to say that there was no difference between the education experiences of the DP 2nd generation that I interviewed and other migrant children. Indeed, there was. The main difference was that many of my interviewees spent their first years as migrants in remote locations where they had little access to services which would have helped them in their educational aspirations. They were isolated from the mainstream communities, to which they were supposed to belong as "New Australians" so many were already struggling with English on their first contacts with local Australians and when they started school.

Parental education

As part of the family background, I asked interviewees what they knew about their parents' educational background or occupations before the Second World War. I had been wondering whether the interviewees whose parents were more highly educated had an advantage in their own education. A number of texts about migrants compare the 1st and 2nd generations for factors such as social, economic mobility between generations as well as educational attainment and their effects on educational achievement.

What struck me most vividly with this cohort is that only one or two interviewees could confidently say that they knew a significant amount about their parental background, either educational or occupational. The majority knew very little, though this is not surprising given that most of their parents were teenagers when taken to Germany. Even among siblings there was no real agreement upon this. The answers to the question were generally vague, Krysha (Krystina) speculated: "They must have learnt how to read and write". She added "Dad was self-educated" and "Mum used to write all the time". Peter also surmised that: "They weren't educated at all from what I know, just worked on a farm". Others were sure that at least one of their parents was "very well educated".

There were even different views among siblings. For example, neither Danuta nor Julia (siblings) knew what type of education their father had, though he must have been educated as, during the war, he was a teenager in Africa where education continued in the DP camps. One of the sisters knew that their mother had been a

secretary but the other had been told by her mother that she (the mother) had gone to Grade 3 and then worked on the farm in Poland that her own mother had purchased. Perhaps Grade 3 was actually Year 3 high school level.

Economic

Educational attainment was highly regarded in DP families and there was significant pressure in most families for children to achieve educationally. Unfortunately many families struggled to provide either the financial or educational support that was required. During the 1950s and 1960s, at a time when the interviewees were nearing the end of their formal education, it was costly to continue to higher levels of education. While it was compulsory to complete formal education to Year 10, or to at least to the end of the term they turned 15 years of age[68] (Tully, K., 2002), many students, Australian-born and migrant, were unable to afford to continue their education beyond Year 10, either to upper high school or university level. The cost of entering university was prohibitive for DP families, who were only just establishing themselves in their new country. In many families, economic issues took priority over the child's need for higher education. That is, higher education for these families was a hard-earned privilege, so the potential gains through education for the 2nd generation had to be balanced against their potential earning capacity within the family. This was particularly so for the females in the family. However, as can be seen within this cohort, most of the interviewees did complete their formal education to Year 12. Katie, however, was told she had to leave school to support the family (her parents). Andrew, Richard, and Sylvia, aware of the financial burden of education on their families, chose to carry out their tertiary studies as mature age students at night school while still fully employed in their daytime work.

While scholarships to upper (senior) high school and university were available, they were very limited in number. Hence, students from DP families, where English was the second language, had to compete against Australian-born English-speaking students to obtain one of a very limited number of scholarships; not so much to private or Catholic schools, but to university, so the chance of success was restricted by this. My own parents told me, on more than one occasion, that to go to university

[68] Until 1958, when the official school leaving age was raised to 14 years and 6 months, the minimum school leaving age was 14. In 1963, it was raised to be the end of the year in which the student turned 14, then again in 1964, when the school leaving age was the end of the year that the student turned 15 ie they could still leave at 14 years and 6 until 1958.

"you have to have lots of money - or get a scholarship". I understood that the scholarships were very competitive and did not, at that time, know of many other students who had received one[69]. That the scholarship tests were mono-culturally-based with a focus upon English language and cultural understanding would also have disadvantaged students from non-English-speaking backgrounds. As most families, DPs and Australians, could not afford to fund university studies for their children, there was also subtle pressure to choose another profession, one which did not place the family under more financial strain[70].

There were, however, high school scholarships available at privately run schools, in particular the Catholic schools[71]. These scholarships allowed students to continue their high school education with an aim to prepare them for tertiary studies. One of my interviewees, Adrianne, succeeded in obtaining a scholarship to continue her education to Year 12 at a private school. Following this, she acquired a Bursary[72] to attend the two-year teacher training course, as did Janina. Without these scholarships it is possible they would have been among the students who later completed their tertiary and further studies as mature age students.

Family culture

Family culture played a significant part in how well different members were educated. While some of the interviewees had to leave school, particularly the females, either due to family finances or because the parents did not believe in further education, it was apparent that many of my cohort felt a strong responsibility within the family which prevented them from expecting to further their education. They had grown up aware of the struggles and sacrifices their parents were making and the fact that finances were a problem, especially for the larger families, even though this may not have been openly stated. Consequently, they sometimes left school and abandoned ideas of being able to progress to tertiary education. For example, Elka, being the oldest child was relied on heavily by her mother, who had

[69] I knew of two, both from intellectual Australian families.

[70] It was common in families at this time that, once the children were employed and still living at home, they paid "board" to their parents.

[71] Catholic schools at this time were not so financially able as they are now. However, they did provide scholarships for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, DP children (First Polish Senior Citizens Club in Western Australia, 1999) and from "Mission" countries, such as Papua New Guinea.

[72] Bursaries were offered for students to complete their 2 year teacher training course at colleges specifically for this purpose. The newly graduated teachers were then contracted to the education department for 2 years during which time they were usually given a country posting.

separated from Elka's father while Elka was still young. She said: "I failed my English (in Year 12) so that I'd stay at home and help Mum".

What was interesting about this situation is that despite Elka's troubled relationship with her mother, she thought she was doing the right thing for her parent. This indicates that there was perhaps some subtle underlying messages within families that their teenage children were picking up on, sometimes correctly and perhaps sometimes misinterpreting. Yet there was no doubt that most of my interviewees, such as Sylvia, were well aware of a situation in which their parents wanted them to achieve but did not have the means to assist them to do so.

> … education for my parents, they pushed and pushed the education. Private school. And I resented it because I thought, "Here is mum at nightshift paying for me to go to private school". I just resented it. So it came to, I got to Year 10, Junior year it was called then, and "What do you want to do?" "I'm leaving school". Because I knew of the sacrifice my mum was making. I am leaving school at 15 and am getting a job, but that upset them. I went to Tech for another year did secretarial and other stuff and started working straight away. I had jumped a year in school as well so I was fifteen (Sylvia).
>
> (U): "Was that because you were bright or..?"
>
> Yes, they actually put me up a grade younger, which when you think I had to learn the language as well, but children learn languages.

Position within the family also counted for how far some interviewees continued their education, as did personality. It appears that in some cases the oldest sibling was the trend-setter for the family. Katrina was the youngest in a family of four sisters. When her oldest sister completed her Junior Certificate in the country, the family moved to Perth to enable the sisters to continue their education at a "good" high school where they didn't have to travel so far. However, the eldest sister then chose to enter the workforce while the younger three, attended a Catholic high school in Perth.

At this time, finding employment was easy so only one sister continued into senior high school, having received scholarships to do so. However, following the lead of

the other sisters who had left school after Year 10 and to earn money, she did not complete her scholarship and left before finishing her final year.

Ironically, two of Katrina's sisters later entered tertiary institutions to complete university degrees, one being the sister who had previously not completed her scholarship for Years 11 and 12. Katrina said that she herself struggled with school and had always meant to leave after she had completed her Junior (Year 10) Certificate, when she then began work in a local bank.

I asked why one sister would go for a scholarship and the others not. She responded:

> Well, we probably all sat for it. I think the nuns always encouraged you to sit for it. But we were not intelligent enough to get it, whereas she (older sister) just breezed through it. And I don't think Dad could have afforded to perhaps send us on to school. But he didn't say that. If we wanted to go on, he would have found the money and he would have let us go to the Catholic school.

Gender issues and practicalities were another aspect of family culture affecting education for the 2nd generation. Jessica's parents, even though very loving and caring of her, felt it a waste of time for her to be further educated. Jessica had been given the opportunity to live with family friends and attend a senior high school in Perth with their daughters, who were her own age. She said: "They (her parents) thought that 'You're just going to get married and have kids. What's the point of education?'" This statement resonated with me as I very well remember my mother not understanding my wish to continue studying, telling me that "You don't need to worry. Your husband will look after you".

This appeared to be a common attitude at that time, and, I believe, stemmed also from a lack of resources to provide equally for all members of the family. However, from my interview with Jessica it appeared that she had an extremely strong bond with each of her (adoptive) parents and I wondered whether their attitude stemmed more from the fear of losing their daughter rather than not wanting her to continue her education.

Language and education

Speaking another language at home was an extremely important factor which many of the interviewees, particularly those who had migrated as young children, said had disadvantaged their education.

> I was going to … primary school. Now, remembering I couldn't speak a word of English. And one of the things that I didn't think of then, I've just thought of now, is there were classes for adults, to learn English, but there was nothing for kids. The kids were forgotten. ... Most of us learned through reading comic books (Andrew).

When Janina first began school, she felt like an outsider as she had no school uniform so stood out as being different. She also found it difficult in a Catholic school:

> …because you had to learn the Catechism. There were prayers for starting school, lunch time, after school and if you couldn't answer the questions, and I couldn't even read, you'd get the stick on your – you know – things were tough. I don't hold it against anyone because they probably weren't experienced teachers and they probably were taught like that themselves.

Her mother, however, did not let her give up on her education, moving her to five different schools in an effort to find the right one for her. Somehow, Janina succeeded in completing 12 years of formal schooling within a 10 year period before then entering and completing studies at Teachers' College.

Karen too had difficulties due to the bilingual nature of her household. With a German mother who refused to speak to her in English, a Bulgarian father who also had language difficulties, she was isolated. Her parents were unable to assist with her homework, her older sister was much older and, it appears, was not supportive. One assumes that the sister herself would have been struggling in the new culture. The school teachers appeared unaware that she required extra assistance, and her mother kept her at home after school so she was not able to draw upon her friends for assistance. Karen became very frustrated as she wanted to learn and could not meet her academic potential. "I did okay in school" she said, "but I really hated it because I just wanted to be good". Her dream of eventually becoming a teacher was shattered when she was forced to leave school and make a significant contribution to the family income, which was low due to her father's alcohol and gambling problems. When in her forties Karen returned to her education and completed a course at one of

the Perth universities but, with young children and full-time work, found this extremely difficult, in spite of having good support from her husband.

Richard too told me that he and his other friends from DP families bore the brunt of their parents' unrealistic expectations.

> Like I mention, there's a lot of the New Australians (2nd generation) who had parents that had these sort of disciplinary bloody phobias and a lot of them have ended up with - ended up with mental illnesses you know.
>
> (U): "What, you're talking about *our* generation?"
>
> *Yeah, absolutely!* Yes. Myself included, you know. Stress related type of things and you're never good enough, you know, it's like education was belted into you, and I can understand why, because they knew the importance of it. But they couldn't help you, and I read in your thingo (article in the Northam Gazette or advertisement in the West Australian newspaper), that was rather interesting, that they wanted you to excel but they couldn't help you in anything. You couldn't even go to them to ask them a bloody simple geometry question. You spoke the wrong lingo at home, and you wondered why you failed English at school. And yet they'd lock - they'd not lock you in your room, but force you to sit in your room.

When Richard was asked by his high school teacher why he was having problems, he said, "Well, we don't speak English at home…I struggle because I'm trying to pick up what my mates are teaching me. That's my problem".

Richard was not the only interviewee to mention the pressure from parents to not only progress in their education, but to excel. What was clear from this was the negative effect of the pressure on the 2nd generation especially given the lack of resources available to them. Even those who had pushed themselves to succeed because they wanted to please their parents or felt obligated would have experienced significant stress because, as Walter pointed out: "it was more if I didn't achieve it was a disappointment".

Educational and other resources

For the children living in camps outside country towns there were few resources available. By resources, I mean there was no electricity or places where they could study without interruption. Studying by kerosene light in an overcrowded household was a far from ideal situation. Additionally, while there was a school bus to take the camp children to school, they had no transport to take them anywhere else, such as a local library. Neither was there anyone in the camps that could assist, as nobody spoke fluent English there. Michael spent much of his school life in a tent camp before the family moved to a town near Northam, where he attended the senior high school. He commented that:

> With study at Northam? I did all right. But I had this, there was… I guess there was a lot of difficulty in the study conditions, because you've got to remember the first few years we lived in tents. We had no electricity. Okay, kerosene lights.

Though Richard did not live in a tent camp when he started his schooling, he still found conditions tough, as his father worked away for some time:

> She (Richard's mother) worked in the hotel. She was a cook. And just like typical New Australians, they knew how to cook. And she worked at a maternity hospital in Northam. Used to be, it was called St John's. It was run by the same nursing as down here in Subiaco with the nuns. And she did take me up there on a couple of nights, because she was on night shift, and I'd sleep on the veranda and it wasn't even a bloody bed, it was actually like a sort of thing what do you call them, it's like a lazy-boy, made of cane, and I just - - I froze out there. Hated it.
>
> Dad was away, and I don't know where he was to be honest…..Well that - - yeah. She ended up chucking the job in, night shift. It wasn't a way for me to - - because I had to go to school then. And it wasn't even under cover. I was

> on the veranda in bloody winter, and it was freezing. I never slept because when you're cold you don't sleep.

Feeling a sense of belonging and some connection to the teacher was important for the DP children, particularly when they had no other role models in that area. When Michael's family moved to another, less isolated town where there was a Polish community, he felt that:

> We sort of like found our feet … the thing is that the school teacher there, the headmaster, was a wonderful man and he'd actually fought with, he was in the Air Force and he'd actually flown with the Poles. We had an ally, and he was a brilliant teacher and he used to come and play chess with all the men and you know, involved us, just involved the whole community, sort of. Was a real leader, a really great guy that everyone loved and he was a great teacher".

Unhappily, some of my interviewees' teachers had the opposite effect upon them as with both Janina and Jenifer, who found the Catholic system too strict. Yet, others thought that they had a good education from the Catholic system. Krysha was extremely happy to attend a top Catholic girls' school in Perth. The nuns had a novel way of categorising their students based upon potential careers as I discovered when I asked: "So did you do a commerce course at school then, that you got a job - -? "

> Yes, commercial. Yes, the shorthand, typing, and now it's called Mercedes (College). In those days it was Victoria Square, St Joseph's. And there was like the blue uniform and the green. The professionals were the greens. They went on to be teachers and nurses and whatever. We were commercials. So that was in our school.

In the period when my older interviewees began their schooling there was severe overcrowding, in both private and state-run schools, which probably meant that teachers had little time to spend with students. As one of the interviewees (Janina) has pointed out, perhaps they had limited teaching experience. However, the lack of care at school resulted in children not achieving as they could. For example, Monika

was disadvantaged due to this lack of care. She told me that her birth mother had requested from Monika's adoptive mother that "all I ask is that she has an education". Monika left school in Year 9 because "I didn't like school". Yet, during the interview when I asked her whether she had enjoyed primary school, she answered:

> I didn't like history, I didn't like maths. I mean I was good at adding up, take away, division, muItiplication. When it come to other ones I just couldn't - - and a lot of it is - - I had a hearing problem. And although the nuns knew, but they never ever - - I used to sit in the front sometimes, but then they'd put me down the back. And then I'd sort of not - - and I think that was the biggest problem. Yes.

The older 2nd generation, mainly the child migrants, had difficulty settling into school. There were no facilities to allow for non-English speaking children, and class sizes were large. This situation meant that some children never had the chance to settle in or confidently learn but ended up blending into the background, as did Andrew, which went against him when he moved schools: When his family moved to another town and he went to a new primary school, he was behind the class and became the victim of bullying:

> It was a fairly big class in the school in (coastal town) so the teacher probably didn't have the time to concentrate on one person. So if you didn't catch onto what was being taught, you were left behind. So anyway, when we left (coastal town) and came to (Perth), I was enrolled in the Primary School. Worst thing ever. From the day I started school there, there was "You're a Nazi!", "You don't deserve to be alive", "You don't deserve to be here." And this didn't just come from the kids who came from the school. *Teacher! And* from the Headmaster.

When Andrew saw that his own mother, even after approaching the school, was powerless to assist him in dealing with the problem and because of the lack of

support from the school and adults around him, he attempted to deal with the situation on his own:

> I became a kid that would do anything to be friends with someone. You know what I mean? If somebody said "Oh, I want you to do such", "Oh yes, I'll do it, I'll do it". Because you wanted to be accepted. And – they didn't really do that out of friendship. It was to get you into trouble…. It only ended up myself getting hurt.

Like two other interviewees, Andrew, with little or no assistance with his early education, learned to read English through reading comic books.

Many DP families returned to Northam for work and to settle. Northam was one of the few regional towns with a large, reputable Senior High School and, for the DP families who could not afford a Catholic education, this is where many DP and other migrant children (as well as members of this cohort, and me) undertook their upper school education[73].

Older siblings and English-speaking friends, usually from other migrant families, were a supportive element for the 2nd generation when they began their schooling. Michael, for example, made sure his younger siblings were able to count and speak some English so they would not be disadvantaged, as he had been in his earlier years at school.

Walter was 4 years of age when his family migrated to Australia. He started school in Northam while living in Calico City, Northam. On completing his Leaving Certificate (Year 12) he joined the Air Force where he trained as an instrument fitter, continuing to increase his qualifications until he became an electrical engineer. I commented how well he had done both educationally and professionally. As he considered my comment, his wife answered:

> Yes, it's like a lot of migrants. We Australians, we take everything for granted and don't work so hard, whereas he was expected to achieve. And ...(indistinct)... really admired Walter because he's a self-made man because

[73] I attended Northam High School in Years 11 and 12 as both the Catholic and State schools in Toodyay taught only to Year 10 level. There were many migrant students at Northam High School. Because of the lack of senior high schools in the country areas, there were also a number of students from the wheat-belt who boarded at the school.

he had nothing, where I was pretty spoilt, took it for granted, whereas Walter's had to achieve everything".

(U): "So you've been noticing those differences have you?"

Yes. I grew up going to the theatre and pantomimes and we went to a restaurant, we had a telephone, we had a car, my dad was in small business. Walter didn't have any of that and he sees me as a would-be could-be snob. He hasn't had that opportunity. Yes, he actually taught himself the guitar and he didn't have music lessons at school. It's just like we assume - - Australians assume everyone knows how to swim because we all had swimming lessons, and you meet adults who can't swim, and you go "Why can't you swim?" Because they never got the opportunity, that sort of thing.

The stress from parental expectations was too much for some interviewees, though in spite of this they managed to complete their formal education to Year 12. Paul explained his circumstances:

Oh I got my Leaving Certificate…. but I always struggled at school. I loved things like history, geography, really fascinated by that sort of stuff and art, drawing. I struggled with maths, especially algebra and geometry and I think part of that was a language issue, that I didn't understand the concepts … Grade 7 level, but I found I was struggling with the language in it. Yes, then... I think I came to appreciate learning a lot later … .I think my Dad probably wanted us to go along and do better and have a white collar job and maybe go to university and all that, but they couldn't really help us with our education, like with our homework if we were struggling. They'd make us go to school and everything else and when you brought home your report card your hand was shaking (laughs) because they would look at the marks and then you would get this grilling and it was always a stressful time. I wasn't the sort of

> person who would go and ask for help if I was struggling at school. I would kind of mask it and pray a lot, … Sometimes if the report card showed that I was failing or close to the borderline, my mother would offer, she would say "Do you want some help? Do you want a tutor or do you want some extra schooling?" And I would always say no. I think part of it also was the money factor, because they were always, money was always tight. My Dad was particularly tight-fisted so I didn't want to bother them with anything that was going to cost them more. It was like when my brother went to Uni and started studying engineering. In those days you had to pay your way through and of course my Dad was always making an issue of the money, so my brother just quit. He just said well it was all too hard to put up with that rubbish.

I mentioned scholarships. "So did they talk about you trying out for a scholarship to go to Uni?" He admitted, that, "They did mention scholarships, but we never really sort of understood enough about them".

Motivation

Education was of great consequence, and often a source of stress for the 2nd generation, with parents pushing their children to succeed in education despite the fact they (the children) had little support from family, community or educators. It did not seem to matter that the parents had, as far as the interviewees knew, very limited education. When it came to motivation to educate their children, there seemed to be little difference between parents whose children had described them as "well-educated" or similar and those who either had limited educational opportunities or whose education had been interrupted by war.

Where the differences lay were in the parental capacity to assist children with their schoolwork. If one or both parents had a reasonable knowledge of English it was certainly advantageous to the child. Danuta's and Julia's mother was a huge influence in motivating her daughters in their education because, as Danuta said: "Mum loved education, yes, she wanted us kids to do the best we could". Danuta and

her sisters were fortunate in that their mother went to great lengths to teach herself English and so was able to assist them with their reading skills. Additionally, both parents were willing to pay for tutors if their daughters were falling behind or having any difficulties with their schooling.

Other interviewees did not have the support that Danuta and Julia had from their parents. Peter, for example, was disappointed as a boy that neither of his parents became involved with the school:

> Oh, it bothered me (parents' lack of communication with school) a bit when I was younger at school because I can remember teachers saying "there's going to be a students' day", "there's gonna be this" and "there's gonna be that" and I'd always sort of ask them to come. But they wouldn't, you know.

The responsibility then fell upon Peter's older brother, who took his parents' place in looking after Peter at school. The positive aspect of this relationship, which appears to have been willingly taken on by his older brother, is the bond that developed between the two brothers and Peter credits his brother for instilling in him "good values" in life.

It came across in some interviews that a strong motivation to achieve in education was to please their parents, or rather, a feeling of obligation toward their parents. Janina had a poor start but through determination succeeded in completing further education:

> It was a bit unfortunate because being a Catholic we were sent to the convent in Northam. The nuns weren't prepared and so many Polish they were – we were just put to the back of the room. Just made to copy stuff out. But they weren't prepared, they didn't have the money, they didn't get Government assistance, anything like that. I just felt very dumb, because I missed out on so much schooling in the camps that once I could go to school, I started to get all the children sicknesses. …. That was unfortunate and yes, I felt like a fish out of water. I caught up – and I got my Leaving et cetera within 10 years, which was very good as English wasn't spoken at home. It was a

> commitment I made to myself and my parents would have made any sacrifices. So I did it for them. And I always felt a fish out of water. When I went to Teachers' College the Polish students was a minority. Yes, I just never felt good enough, yet I had it all together.

Most of the interviewees who came from Polish/Polish backgrounds had extra education in a Polish school where they were sent to learn about that culture and language. For most, this did not last for many years as the lure of being outside playing with friends was greater than that of extra lessons at Polish school on a Saturday morning. Yet, many retain memories of the activities surrounding the Polish school, such as Polish dancing lessons and the concerts, complete with colourful traditional Polish costumes they wore on stage.

Effect of educational experiences on second generation attitudes

As many DP families were initially sent to isolated locations where their only neighbours were a few farmers and other DPs, there was little chance for either children or parents to gain English language skills and develop contacts with local people. Consequently, my interviewees in their early years in Western Australia, prior to attending school, were living in the cultural environment of their parents and spoke the language of their parent/s. Not surprisingly, when they went to school they faced challenges not considered by educational authorities, who had just assumed that it would be easy for the children to quickly pick up the English language and fit into the school system unaided.

Regina's parents were unable to assist with her education, especially in the early days, as their English language skills had not developed enough to do so. Additionally, they were unable to help with finding resources and taking her to the library as they had no car and lived in a small town outside Northam, where the library was located. They assisted as they could by providing the children with a large Webster dictionary, musical instruments and other equipment and attending the Christmas concerts, but they would not approach the teachers to discuss her progress. Regina assumed that this was because they may have been a bit intimidated by the teachers as well as their lack of English speaking ability. She also felt hampered in her education by the fact that the family had no car, so they did not go out often, and

that to further her education she would need to go to school in Northam each day by bus. Regina therefore chose to leave home and find employment in Perth, where her parents eventually moved when her father's workplace closed down.

While Regina understood why her parents were unable to offer full educational support, this did influence her approach to her own children's education. She is very actively involved in their education: "you see, whenever my kids have had any problems I've always gone to the school and sorted it out. … whereas Mum and Dad, it wasn't sort of that way". Regina's children, as with many of the children of the 2nd generation cohort, continued their education to tertiary level, with the encouragement of their parents. It must be noted however, during the time my cohort were in high school, higher education was expensive and not so accessible. There were many more work opportunities so leaving school was a viable option, and most jobs offered secure and continuous employment.

The early educational experiences of the older child migrants motivated them to take on a type of mentoring role for their younger siblings. Michael said that he was in this situation: "when my brother was on the school bus and that I'd always protect him and look after him and so you know, I was, I mean, I'm fairly proud of what he's achieved so far".

Some younger siblings were aware of just how important that mentoring role was for them. Peter, for example, spoke with admiration of his older brother, who was the person who first took him to school and looked after him there. Something that Peter could not remember but was told is that he could not speak a word of English on his first day of school, so it may have also been his brother who assisted him with his language. In some ways, Peter's older brother replaced his parents by taking on the mentor role in his education as did other elder siblings in this cohort.

Employment second generation

The main type of work within this cohort was "white-collar[74]". Among this cohort were those who had occupational qualifications, such as nursing (2); teaching (3); trade qualifications (3), engineer (1). Public servants included community workers

[74] The terms "blue collar" and "white collar" refer to the types of workers in Australia. The term was more common in the 1950s to 1970s when there was a clear class distinction among workers. Blue collar workers were skilled workers who worked mainly in trades, hence the term "blue collar". White collar workers were people who worked in offices, banks, for example, and so the term 'white collar' came about, as the implication was that these workers could wear white collars to work as they never got their hands dirty.

and bank officers[75], (7). Others worked in the areas of; accounting and finance (2); family business (1) retail (2) community services (2); secretarial (6) and media (1). At the time of interview, two thirds of the cohort had retired (20/30), though were still actively involved in community work. Of the (10) interviewees who were still in paid work, two were employed part-time.

Most of the interviewees remained in the same type of occupation throughout their careers, though at least two of the females did not continue with their employment once they married and had children. Jenifer left work when she had children. Krysha, due to public service policy in the 1960s, was forced to retire when she married. Ironically, later as a widow with two young children she was able to return to her previous position. Table 7 and Table 8 give the specific employment details of the interviewees.

[75] At this time banks had not been deregulated and were government owned.

Table 7: Employment 2nd generation DPs 3.5 years and over on migration

Year of birth	Gender	Age on migration	Main area/s of employment	Employment status at time of interview
1940	F	9	Clerical	Retired
1941	M	9	Trade; Service industry	Retired/Community volunteer
1942	F	8	Teacher	Retired
1943	F	7	Nurse	Retired/Community volunteer
1942	F	6	Clerical worker	Retired
1944	F	5.5	Community/ education worker	Retired/Community volunteer
1944	M	5	Teacher	Retired
1945	F	5	Clerical	Retired/Community volunteer
1945	M	5	Tradesman	Retired
1946	F	4	Public servant	Retired
1946	M	4	Finance	Self-employed/Community volunteer

1946	M	4	Accountant	Retired
1946	F	3.5	Retail assistant	Part-time community carer
1946	F	4	Clerical	Retired/Community volunteer

Table 8: Employment: 2nd generation DPs 0-3.5 years on migration and Australian born

Year of birth	**Gender: F=female M=Male**	**Main area/s employment**	**Employment status at time of interview**
1947	F	Media/real estate	Retired/Volunteer
1949	M	Marine mechanic	Retired/Community volunteer
1949	F	Clerical	Retired/Volunteer
1950	M	Public servant	Public servant/Community volunteer
1950	M	Community worker/education	Retired/Voluntary worker
1951	M	State public servant	Public servant
1952	F	Community care worker	Community care worker
1952	F	Teaching	Retired/ Community volunteer
1952	F	Clerical	Retired
1952	M	Engineer	Retired

1954	M	Retail/small business	Retail/Small business
1954	F	Public service -Bank	Retired/Volunteer
1957	F	Public servant	Clerical
1959	F	Family business	Family business
1961	F	Nursing	Nursing
1965	F	Public servant	Public servant

Of my interviewees, most had parents who had remained as government employees within the larger organisations such as WAGR, Main Roads Department, the SEC or government hospitals. Positions which interviewees' fathers had held were mainly labouring and assisting "blue collar" workers, that is, as technical assistants; their mothers as domestics, cleaners, cooks, or nursing assistants. This work offered security even if not many chances for career advancement, in comparison to my interviewees, who had much higher status positions within the Public Service sector, or had gone on to other "white collar" occupations.

While listening to the way in which some of the interviewees spoke about their parents' hardships in the work-place, I wondered whether this had also been a motivation for the 2nd generation to strive for higher status employment than their parents. As their parents encouraged them to achieve academically, it is likely that this also drove the 1st generation to motivate them. For example, Danuta and her sisters were encouraged by their parents to enter occupations, such as teaching, nursing and the public service. So much that Danuta's mother even filled out and submitted her nursing application for her.

The Catholic schools were also, for a few of the female interviewees, an impetus to enter the government banking system or to continue on to occupational studies such as nursing, teaching or secretarial work. It appears to me, from what interviewees stated, as well as what I know from when my siblings and I attended Catholic

schools, that the Catholic nuns encouraged the girls especially to find “white-collar” employment, such as in one of the State or Commonwealth Banks and even to apply for scholarships for tertiary studies. I remember my older sister, who was at a Catholic boarding school in Perth, was also encouraged to apply for tertiary scholarships.

However, the 2nd generation were assisted by the fact that, when they finished high school, it was relatively easy to find employment, and even the interviewees who left school earlier had the opportunity to enter trades, especially the males. The bulk of the labouring and domestic work was still, at that time, mainly taken up by the migrants arriving during the 1950s and 1960s, so there was no apparent pressure to take up work in those areas. Only one of the interviewees (Monika) chose to do this, leaving school to take up work as a “home help” but later finding a permanent place as a shop assistant. She had no interest in further education or trade qualifications.

My interviewees felt a great deal of sympathy for their parents and the hard work they undertook. Richard recalls one of the jobs his father did:

> They were the days of coal, steam trains, and they used to drive the train over a pit, and they'd open the things ... the ash would drop, and when it cooled Dad would have to go down and shovel it out, and he'd come home white with the ash, and I really felt sorry for him. He laboured so damned hard.

The way in which his father’s work affected the family made Richard sceptical about this situation:

> (at home)..you could see the whole mood was affected by Dad's hard labour, and I would go down there sometimes as a kid, I think I must have been close to 10 then. I'd go down and see what he was doing, and he took me and put me up on a train, and that, but my heart went out to him because I could see, this was bullshit, you know.

Richard’s father eventually found work that he loved and was acknowledged for, but his health had already declined. Richard, on leaving school, became a “white collar” government worker though many years later he chose to retrain in the technical field.

Krysha’s story too indicated the degree of disincentive to follow in her parents’ footsteps in the workforce:

> I mean my mum, I don't know about your mum, but *here* (Australia), like I said to the aunty in Poland, my mother worked very, very hard here. My Mum says she worked harder here than she worked in Germany under the, as a prisoner-of-war virtually. Because she'd work from 7 in the morning till 7 at night, because she worked in a kitchen, and she said that the nuns were a lot more cruel to her than she ever experienced in Germany. They had them shelling peas in their (workers') lunch hour, because they were ethnic women and they didn't speak the language all that well. They were more like forced labour here than what they were in Germany, because a lot of Germans were very, very good to their people. It's like if they - - a boss needs a good worker, and you don't - - like I said to (husband), you don't need unions, if you do the right thing by your boss, he's going to look after you, if you're going to do the right thing for him. So you know, here, things were - - Australia wasn't an easy place for migrants of the 1950s, it was very, very tough. And again they were just glad to be here, but they worked, long hours, and the women, because they didn't speak English, they were discriminated against…in lots and lots of ways. But their children had a good life.

Peter, also a public servant, was more philosophical "They were hard workers. Mind you, they had to be, they had no other choice. It was a lot easier here than it was in Poland to make a living, even in those days".

There was a very strong work ethic within the cohort, which obviously stemmed from their experiences within families in which both parents worked long hours, in labour intensive jobs. Many of my interviewees, including the retirees, had been and still were involved as community volunteers. The types of voluntary work varied. They included: voluntary leadership roles in ethnic sporting and cultural associations; historical societies; church committees; aged care assistance; and environmental organisations. Even those still in paid employment were, at the time of interview, involved in cultural (mainly Polish) and other voluntary organisations.

Culture and traditions

It was no surprise that, as the parents of this cohort passed away, and with an exceptional degree of "out-marriage[76]" the commitment to family traditions and ethnic cultural practices gradually faded out. Given that most of the traditions were associated with religious festivals, and that a large number of the interviewees are no longer devout Catholics, this was also to be expected, though some of the interviewees are still encouraging their own children to continue with certain practices which they cherish. The extent of out-marriage and loss of ethnic language and family traditions can be clearly seen in *Table 9* below.

The majority of this cohort (20), in their first marriages, married Anglo-Australians, while the others married: British-born Australians (2); Indian-Australians (2); British migrants (3); German migrant (1); Dutch migrant (1). Only one interviewee married into her own ethnic group (Ukrainian). Therefore, the degree of out-marriage from the same ethnic group within this cohort was 29:1.The 3 interviewees who married for a second time, maintained this pattern, marrying spouses who were: South African, Australian, and British-born.

It came across during a handful of interviews that people of the opposite sex and the same ethnic background, were considered as "not good enough" to marry. For example, one female interviewee described Polish boys as being unattractive, while Richard made a thought-provoking comment. He said: "I never, never, had any interest in girls of Polish origin. Because I tell you, they were repressed, but for the same reason that I was. They were tightly held by their parents, strictly controlled, and very high expectations of them".

[76] Referred to by some researchers as "intermarriage" as distinct from inter-ethnic marriage (Giorgas& Jones, 2002; Jones & Luijkx, 1996; Penny & Khoo,1996; Price and Zubrzycki, 1962)

Table 9: Language, out-marriage, and tradition 2nd generation

Case No.	Gender	Parental ethnicity (Father/mother)	Language parental home	Language outside home	Comments re language	Spouse ethnicity/nationality	Continuing traditions
1	F	Polish/Polish	Polish with parents; English with siblings, husband and children	English, Polish with parent's friends		Australian – migrated as child from England	Christmas and Easter food and traditions. Adapted traditional Polish recipes. Religious traditions
2	M	Polish/Polish	Polish with parents; English with siblings, wife and children	English		Australian	Food – just starting to do this
3	F	Bulgarian/German	German/English	English	Refused to speak German to parents, answered in English	Australian	Easter traditions
4	F	Polish/Polish	Polish	English and Polish	Uses Polish language in her work	Australian	Used to do Polish food but less now. No apparent continuing traditions

Case No.	Gender	Parental ethnicity (Father/mother)	Language parental home	Language outside home	Comments re language	Spouse ethnicity/nationality	Continuing traditions
5	F	Russian/Latvian (Baltic Germans)	German	German and English	Stopped speaking German at home when her daughter unable to speak English on commencing school	German	No apparent continuing traditions - check
6	F	Polish/Polish	Polish with parents; English with siblings, husband and children	English, Polish with parent's friends		Australian	Christmas and Easter foods and traditions; religious traditions
7	F	Polish/Polish (adoptive) ++	Polish with parents and sister, English with husband and children	English and Polish	Spoke English with her children because she was told that if she spoke Polish to them they wouldn't learn to speak English	Australian	Follow Australian Christmas traditions.

Case No.	Gender	Parental ethnicity (Father/mother)	Language parental home	Language outside home	Comments re language	Spouse ethnicity/nationality	Continuing traditions
8	F	Polish stepfather/German	German and a little Polish	English but also German, Polish depending on the situation	Attempted to keep up German language with lessons at night school	Australian	Gradually moving away from European to Australian traditions and food, eg Christmas
9	F	Polish/Ukrainian	Polish	English; and Polish with Polish community	Polish language continues into the 3rd and 4th generation though to a limited degree	Ukrainian	Christmas and Easter traditions and food; religious traditions
10	F	Polish (ethnic German)/Polish (ethnic Ukrainian)	Polish and German then English once she started school; English with husband and children	English		Australian	Christmas traditions; some foods
11	M	Polish/Polish	Polish	English		Australian	No
12	F	Polish/Polish	Polish plus bit of German or Ukrainian	English and Polish with the Polish community	"had to speak the language that people spoke as they came into the house"	Australian	Food; Polish community events

Case No.	Gender	Parental ethnicity (Father/mother)	Language parental home	Language outside home	Comments re language	Spouse ethnicity/nationality	Continuing traditions
13	M	Polish/Polish	Polish	English: Polish with parents' friends		1st wife Australian – migrated from England as a child: 2nd wife South African	No
14	M	Polish/Russian	Polish and Russian	English; Polish		Indian Australian	Attends Catholic church
15	M	German/Bulgarian	Mother spoke German, he answered in English; English with wife and children	English		English migrant	No
16	F	German/Polish	German and English	English		Dutch migrant	Christmas and Easter food and traditions; family traditions, including Dutch and German
17	M	Polish/Polish	Polish initially then English	English	The family changed to speaking English when they realised they could not communicate in their different languages	Australian	No

Case No.	Gender	Parental ethnicity (Father/mother)	Language parental home	Language outside home	Comments re language	Spouse ethnicity/nationality	Continuing traditions
18	M	Yugoslav stepfather/German	German	English		British migrant	No
19	F	Lithuanian/German	English	English	Parents decided that they would assimilate and only English would be spoken	1st husband Australian: 2nd husband Australian	Food
20	F	Polish/German	Parents spoke German together occasionally, otherwise English	English	Parents made an effort to assimilate and did not encourage the use of their ethnic languages	English migrant	Food
21	M	Austrian stepfather/German	German and English	German and English	German language in his place of employment	Australian	Christmas and Easter traditions

Case No.	Gender	Parental ethnicity (Father/mother)	Language parental home	Language outside home	Comments re language	Spouse ethnicity/nationality	Continuing traditions
22	F	Polish/Belarussian	Polish, Ukrainian, with parents; English with husband and children	English	Was told that if she taught her children Ukrainian they would not be able to learn English	Australian	Religious traditions and food
23	F	German-Polish/Russian-Polish	German, Polish, English	English		Australian	No
24	F	Polish/Polish	Polish, English	English		1st husband Australian; 2nd husband British background	No
25	F	Polish/Polish	Polish with parents; English with husband and children	German with other children when in the Northam camps 1950s; Polish with her friend; English all other times		Australian	No
26	M	Polish/Polish	Polish; English with wife and children	English and Polish		Australian	No apparent continuity
27	F	Lithuanian-Polish/Polish	Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, German. English once she started school	English; Polish when required		Australian	No

Case No.	Gender	Parental ethnicity (Father/mother)	Language parental home	Language outside home	Comments re language	Spouse ethnicity/nationality	Continuing traditions
28	M	Polish/Polish	Initially Polish, bit of German, Yugoslav; English when started school then later with wife and children	English		Australian	No apparent continuity
29	F	Polish/Polish	Polish; English with husband and children	English and Polish		Australian	No apparent continuity
30	M	Polish/Polish	Polish and English with parents; English with wife and children	English		Australian – Anglo-Indian background	Polish cultural events

Food

The main ethnic and cultural traditions which endured in this cohort were those surrounding food, especially when linked to religious traditions. Christmas Eve dinner was probably the one that most of the interviewees continued, even if they did not attend any of the religious rites associated with Christmas.

Monika, brought up in a traditional Polish family, said she occasionally liked to do a cook-up of Polish food, such as cabbage rolls and soup. She recalled the fish in brine that her mother used to make, but, most dishes she thought were "too much mucking around". Surprisingly, the youngest interviewees, Danuta and Julia, still had a traditional Christmas Eve dinner with all of the family invited. The family also attended the Christmas Mass, though at different times to each other. Danuta explained their Christmas menu:

> Well, the first dish is pea soup, crouton. The second dish is *Kopitka* which is like dumplings virtually. The third, which is really weird this one, is rice and prunes and then fourth is fish. And that's how it's always been Christmas Eve.
>
> (U): "Is that typical Polish?"
>
> Oh, there's more too if you want to, there's about 30 dishes. I actually looked it up one Christmas and I went "Oh my God, no way." … because back in Poland they put the hay under the tablecloths and everything and you light the candles and you had the *oplatek* which is like the holy bread. We used to go around and wish each other good luck for the future and whatever. So the kids, my kids actually grew up with that as well. Yeah, so Christmas Eve. Even when (youngest son) was doing shift work as a chef he'd say "I need Christmas Eve night off". Christmas Eve was at Mum's and Dad's, always. Yeah, and so they've grown up with that tradition as well.

She admitted that some modifications had been made to the dishes over the years but, as she said: "The basis is still there".

This family also kept up Easter traditions, which they had been immersed in when children through the Polish school. Danuta spoke about being part of the Easter parades and painting boiled eggs, which on Easter Sunday they would smack together while wishing the other person "peace and happiness". She mentioned with pleasure that she had only recently seen small children coming home from school carrying their little decorated Easter baskets. This last tradition, however, has now been lost in her family. Julia said she carried on the Easter egg tradition with her children until they were teenagers, when they lost interest. It may be that this tradition will re-emerge when she has grand-children.

It seemed that both Polish and German influence in the cuisine among this cohort was waning, mainly due to the large amount of work involved in preparing the food. Additionally, much of the food, for example the Polish *pirogi*, or dumplings, was too heavy for the palates of the interviewees who had grown up in Australia and had become used to a variety of cuisines. Karen enthused about the beautiful pastries that her mother used to make, as well as some of the smallgoods the family would have. However, she prefers other types of cuisine, though her Australian-born husband and her children love the German food. I asked what food she liked to cook:

> We like... a lot of Mediterranean food. I would never do the potatoes (potato dumplings). And I don't know how to do the *Knodel*. I would do the *Knodel* cause I love 'em but I don't know *how* to do them. *Vienna Schnitzel* to me now is quite common so I don't do them. But Mum used to do them as a special treat and they were beautiful. Oh, that was special. Mum would do them by hand, you know. Nowadays you buy them usually done. I just find them a lot of work so I don't do that. Umm, what else did Mum do? Oh, the cold meat. I love all the cold meat, the *Leberkasse*, but they're not good for me. I know it's no good for me so I haven't had that for a while lately cause I go crazy when I buy that. I love that. But I buy *Speck* (type of bacon) now. Mum always used to have *Speck* in the meals. So I do *Speck* in the meal (laughs) but I know all those things are quite fattening.

What I found interesting in Karen's story was that the preparation of the food, like the *Wiener Schnitzel* that her mother made, was what made it special. It seemed too that ethnic foods could also be an assertion of identity, specifically ethnic identity for some of my interviewees. For Adrianne, not just the Polish food, but the preparation was like a celebration of her ethnicity, something which she has passed on to her children:

> I do things from scratch, and the children are very aware of when I'm turning ethnic and they go "Oh, ethnic mother today." (laughing together). But it's true!
>
> (U): "What do you mean by turning ethnic? Explain this turning ethnic".
>
> Well, for example, mashed potato. A good Aussie would only put a little bit of milk in it, where an ethnic puts in an armful of butter and hot milk and just - Ooh the fat! And that is just one little thing. For example, we have our Christmas Eve, the only time my husband wants to divorce me, well he says that's the only time, I have to make the fish balls for Christmas Eve celebrations. But unfortunately you have to make that the night before and the beautiful Australian weather, it's usually 40 degrees or something, and you've got to do fish stock and with no wind going through the whole house, everyone wants to leave, no-one wants to help. But on Christmas Eve they all go Yum! But that's when they say: "Mum! Your ethnic background!"
>
> (U): "So they're sort of proud of your ethnic background?"
>
> Oh yes, and the funny thing is they do a lot of stuff that I do, the cooking, and when they have friends over, the friends say "Oh can we have *pirogis*?"

Speaking of the traditions and foods with my interviewees, it was strange to think that these elements in their lives, which they so enjoyed, were also a source of pain from their childhoods. That is, food that my interviewees ate while growing up was a cultural divider outside the home, especially at school. This appears to have been a common occurrence for migrant children of that period, not just my cohort. One

interviewee, Joanna, still felt the hurt of being teased about her school lunchtime salami sandwiches. She explained that she used to feel ostracised as no-one would sit next to her because of the smell of her food. Katie even threw her sandwiches in the bin, rather than having the other children notice that she had different food to them, a common story for migrant children at that time.

While they could not do anything about the food that was cooked in the home, in fact, as children, many interviewees preferred their ethnic food in comparison to Australian food. At the same time, they worried about what their Australian school friends would think when they visited. One focus group participant described her embarrassment when she brought her (Australian) friends home, realising how strange the meal must look to them:

> But as a child…you know, to invite someone home from school, for a meal… they got (Polish) chicken soup with two inches of chicken fat floating on top, or a borsch, you know this bright pink soup. Eurgh!

Other members of the focus group acknowledged with her statement, having had similar experiences themselves. However, over time, as Australians became used to different ethnic foods and with migrant children wanting to eat Australian as well as ethnic foods, this became less of an issue. It was mentioned by interviewees, such as Katie for example, that with a multicultural population and so many different foods now available, attitudes to "foreign" food have changed in Australia.

Cultural traditions

Quite a few of the interviewees attended Polish school, though for varying periods of time. There they learned to speak and write in Polish and to take part in Polish folk dance and music. Even though they said they disliked having to go to Polish school while their friends were outside playing, there were no complaints about the cultural activities, which some kept up into adulthood. However, at the time of interview, only a handful of participants in my group still kept up Polish-based activities such as Polish theatre, dance and music groups.

The Polish sporting clubs were mentioned a few times as being a place to socialise with others their own age and ethnicity as they grew up. These clubs were predominantly in the metropolitan area, the main one being *Cracovia*, the football (soccer) club. However, Northam Polish club continued for some years to provide social and cultural activities for, not just the Polish DPs but other migrants.

According to Monika, who married an Australian, local non-migrant people from Northam liked to attend the social events such as dinner-dances, which were held regularly. However, they could not become full members of the Polish club[77].

In some ways, my pre-conception, based upon my own experience, was that people of German heritage did not continue with the language and traditions. This seemed to be the situation with the interviewees who had German backgrounds. I heard of no such traditions from the interviewees with German parents, even though they were well aware of the existence of the German Rhein-Donnau club, which their parents attended. While one interviewee's daughter attended dancing lessons at the German club which her grandfather attended, the interviewee did not participate. The cultural interactions with other German-born people, usually their parents' friends, seemed to be on a more personal level. For example, Katie spoke of going, as a child, to visit her mother's friend, which she found quite boring as they spoke in German, a language which she refused to speak. As her mother was a very private person, it appears the family did not socialise very much. Katie also pointed out, however, that while she was growing up, her mother was adamantly anti-Australian so that striving to maintain the German language and culture in the home could have been partly motivated by this.

On another level, it appeared that there was a sense of the German culture which was ingrained in Katie and, I realised, in myself. Conventions such as bringing a small gift when visiting, was a practice with which we were both familiar and is a very "European" practice. Katie, described her engagement party as being very "foreign" to her guests:

> Like at the engagement party we had at my husband's parents' house, cause he still lived in the house. But Mum wanted it quite… European, because Mum, she said the Aussies in those days you would just have chips. Like if you had a party you would only have chips, food wasn't really the done thing in those days. Where Mum felt, "No, you have to have good food" and she

[77] Other ethnic communities, such as the Ukrainian, Italian, German, and Greek, also had these types of associations.

made good food and bought Miss Maud[78] cakes and it's funny because all the Aussies then said "Oh this is lovely. Is that that foreign stuff?

The lavish parties such as Joanna's parents used to throw, and to which they also invited their Australian friends, plus the additional attraction of ethnic social clubs, seem to have been the beginning of a cultural exchange with the non-migrant population. However, an event such as Katie's engagement to an Australian citizen, indicates that even long after migration the process of acceptance and awareness of different cultures was incomplete. As the 2nd generation DPs married into the Australian families, they were, in effect, the link between cultures. It seems too, that while the 2nd generation were finding their way in Australian society, trying to fit in, some Australians of the same generation also wanted to explore the different food and cultural practices that the DPs brought with them.

Traditions learned in Poland continued on in some families for some years, usually for economic rather than purely traditional reasons. Even children who did not grow up in the tent camps still experienced this type of economic thrift coupled with tradition. For example, two of the interviewees mentioned that, whenever poultry was plucked and killed for food, the feathers were stuffed into empty hessian bags which had been made into cushion covers and embroidered in traditional Polish designs. The cushions were then sold. Adrianne took pride in the fact that she had contributed to the family income by assisting in this process.

Religion

Most of this cohort was brought up as Roman Catholic. The majority were from Polish-born families and the Polish are well known for their devout Catholicism. As the Polish schools had a strong religious element and were run by the local Catholic priest, who was, therefore, an important part of the Polish community. Traditions, such as blessing the house, were carried out by the priest and parishioners also assisted with voluntary work in the convents, as I also remember from my school days at St Aloysius in Toodyay. Bernard took pride in that his father and other parishioners from (his town) built the Catholic Church in Northam. However, as there was no church in (his town) at that time, and they could not find transport each Sunday to attend church in Northam, he was not a regular church-goer. Indeed, he

[78] Miss Maud's began in 1971 as a Swedish-style patisserie in the Perth central business district. The patisserie was very popular with European migrants as it had a European ambience and people would meet there and partake of "good quality" coffee and Swedish pastries and cakes.

and his younger sister, Regina, became somewhat alienated from the church when they were sent to board at a convent in another small town nearby, in preparation for their communion and later confirmation[79]. They felt the nuns were unnecessarily harsh on themselves and the other children, which sowed the seeds of cynicism about the Catholic Church.

It did not appear that many of the interviewees continued with their religious practises once they left home and had their own families. One interviewee no longer believed in the Catholic Church due to its current disrepute over allegations of child abuse. Others married non-Catholics[80], which would have made it difficult to continue with their religious practises as well as bring up their children as Catholic.

Yet, for at least a few of the cohort, the church and their religion was a source of strength. For example, Janina maintained a strong faith within the Catholic religion, though due to illness she could not attend church as often as she would have liked. Elka and Adrianne had been active members of their church communities for many years and derived much satisfaction from being part of the church and in being involved in its community.

Inherited values

It was clear that my interviewees had inherited many of their parents' values in life, though siblings also learned from each other. For example, Peter credited his older brother with teaching him to do "the right thing" and his work ethic. There were, however, two inherited values that stood out in this cohort: one was explained to me as "the Polish way"; the other was the work ethic.

Julia's and Danuta's mother had a deep impact on their values, even though they resented her for most of their younger lives, mainly due to her strictness. However, they learned from her what they referred to in interview as *"the Polish way"*. Julia said:

> Yes, mum was very strict and I think that's the Polish upbringing as well. You know, like, if a guy came to ask you out, wanted to take you out, he had

[79] Children from towns without churches were sent to nearby parishes each year for religious instruction in preparation for their Confirmation, which usually took place at about 11 years of age. They boarded in the convents during this time, but had little to do with the other students, being there for only a short time and usually in the school holidays.

[80] In this period Catholics were forbidden to marry non-Catholics, so the intended spouse either had to convert to Catholicism or take lessons from the priest and promise to bring up their children as Catholic, before the wedding could go ahead.

to come and ask the parents first. Which was really scaring my husband to death. Because I never spoke to him about that, yet he came, and my mother straight away just loved him. She thought "What a wonderful man, to do that." Just little things like, I mean people would say now that it's etiquette, but I think it was much more the European, Polish way of life. And you don't backchat your parents, you know. Parents are the ultimate rule. And money was tight because they came as immigrants trying to make a better life…and so they really watched their pennies….I think as children we felt like other kids would get clothes all the time. We would get it for birthdays and Christmas. Know what I mean? If you want a tennis racquet you would get it for birthdays or Christmas. It was never just freely given. Um, and when I talk to a lot of Polish people, they all grew up the same way. It was very much a reason why you got given something".

(U): "Yes, so you could see that that was a Polish…"

Very much so because I had a lot of Australian friends and they didn't seem to have that problem, so I don't know. I grew up believing that "Oh, this is the Polish way".

The idea of a "Polish way" intrigued me as it seemed quite an idealistic concept. What Julia was talking about were issues of respect for family, earning rather than expecting, and appreciation for things gained by overcoming economic hardships.

Janina and Adrianne also referred to their "Polish-ness" and Janina was proud to say that her mother told her that she has the "Polish soul". She saw the Polish way as being the manner of relating to other people, as hospitality and generosity. The Polish custom is, she said, that if a guest comes into your home it is as if Jesus comes into your home and this was what she lived by. Adrianne too had totally immersed herself in the Polish-ness of the catering for and generosity to friends and family. Interestingly, Janina did not relate to any "German way", even though her father was

German, and German people are known for their hospitality, as Katie's mother demonstrated at her (Katie's) engagement party.

Most of the interviewees, especially those of Polish/Polish background came from families where both parents were employed in the paid workforce. Additionally, many of their parents worked long and inhospitable hours in hard, physical work, such as labouring, waitressing and cleaning. Invariably, interviewees spoke of this to me with both admiration and sympathy for how hard their parents had worked to earn money to set up the family. This *work ethic* became an important part of the 2nd generation legacy and my interviewees took their work very seriously, many having remained in their primary employment for most of their work careers. A few, such as Walter, moved location a number of times, but within the same type of industry. Joanna was a "Jack of all trades" who told me "You name it, I've done it", which when she told me her work history, I had to agree. However, her main area was secretarial work.

Identity and belonging

"Looking at a gum tree though pine tree eyes"

The notion of identity and belonging in this cohort is complex. Even as the interviewees, in the main, saw themselves as belonging in Australia, they had always been aware of being different to the local Australian community. It was apparent from what interviewees related about negative attitudes towards DPs and their families that they were in an awkward position. The community contribution to the churches and local business that DPs and their children were making in Northam and surrounding areas as they established themselves, should have been acknowledged and applauded. My interviewees were, justifiably, proud of their parents' contributions but particularly of the efforts they took to provide homes, security, and education for their families. However, it was obvious and quite hurtful to some that their families had still been resented by many local Australians.

Many times during my interviews, even by the interviewees who were Australian-born and so did not experience those first difficult years of settlement, it was stated that "the Australians" resented or "were jealous of" the DPs (and later other migrants) because, within a very short space of time, they had acquired sufficient wealth to build or buy a home and had begun accumulating material possessions. Bernard pointed out:

> The Australians weren't very happy because the migrants had all the money, because they did all the over-time. The Australians were too lazy to work, you know, they wouldn't work over-time, where the migrants would. There was a bit of a confuffle[81] (due to this resentment) over the (country town) Club, the cops were called. Was something like the riots back in Kalgoorlie in the old days. You know, the riots between the Italians and the Yugoslavs and the Australians[82]. There was some of that, on a smaller scale. It was quite big, yes, it was.

This was a difficult situation for the 2nd generation. On one hand they wanted to be Australian but on the other they wanted to be proud of their parents. Noticing the negativity toward "foreign-ness", which meant everything their families represented, they tried to distance themselves from "foreign-ness". Therefore, they often had to choose between the mainstream and the migrant communities.

To say that the 2nd generation did not want to assimilate would not be true. They all wanted to be part of the Australian culture, as did their parents. It was never considered that the second generation, unlike their parents, would be forced to assimilate; it was just expected that they would. Regardless, to say that most of my interviewees *chose to assimilate* because they were made to feel ashamed of their families, and their differences, may be closer to the truth. The obvious ways for the 2nd generation to assimilate and be accepted was to hide or soften the markers of difference which were: the ethnic home; clothing; and, most importantly, language. However, some of them, while assimilating publically, still thought of themselves as Polish or German and were content to continue as such in the privacy of their homes.

The "ethnic home"

In this cohort, many were a long time without a permanent home. In the first two years at least, families were usually in rented accommodation provided by their employers before building or buying their own homes. While some spoke of being embarrassed to bring their Australian friends home, because of the differences, it

[81] Confuffle is a slang word meaning a fuss or brawl.
[82] Could have been referring to either the 1934 Kalgoorlie riot (http://museum.wa.gov.au/explore/wa-goldfields/getting-gold/ethnic-riots) or the 1952 and 1961 Bonegilla riots (Pennay, 2011)

appeared that many of the cohort, as children, were also not encouraged to bring their friends home. Peter, remembering his childhood said:

> I found it (his childhood) isolating in the fact that my parents didn't like the idea of other kids coming over to play that often. They didn't stop me from playing with them at their place or, in those days, in the empty blocks around the house or things like that ... but they weren't very keen on other kids coming to our house to play.

It seems that most of the visitors to their homes were the parents' migrant friends as they (the parents) were still part of their migrant communities. Monika and her sister were discouraged from bringing children home, especially Australian children, because her mother felt that their home was not as nice as Australian family homes. Katie too could not bring friends to visit, though she said that this was because her mother wanted to keep her (Katie) to herself. Katie's older sister had left home while Katie was still quite young, so she was isolated in her home. Consequently, she was desperate to be accepted by her Australian schoolmates. She spoke of the feeling of having no-one, even among the migrant children at her school:

> Because the ones at (High School), like the market gardeners, there were a few Italian, not many, like I said, more Yugoslavs. But, they were like me, they wouldn't have told people they were foreign. We all pretended we were Aussies.
>
> (U): "Why did you pretend you were Aussies?"
>
> Cause we all wanted to be like the Aussies. You know, the way we talked, acted, clothing, food, all that.
>
> (U): "So what were, so really you were rejecting your, your primary culture I suppose?"
>
> Mm.
>
> (U): "What was so bad about the primary culture? What was it you didn't like that you saw in the Australian?"

> Well, because they didn't speak English, and that's where you were. They couldn't communicate as well. The different food when you went out.

Other interviewees were not isolated in their homes, as Katie was, and had many friends, though these friends were mainly other DP and migrant children because they all lived in the same area. Their school friends included Australian children but, as already noted, there was limited reciprocal visiting between the DP and Australian children. Yet, the ultimate aim of the DP children appears to have been to be accepted by their Australian peers.

Clothing

Danuta's younger sister, Julia, confessed to me that, when they were growing up, due to their straitened circumstances, all the younger sisters in her family had to wear hand-me-down clothes. She had been extremely embarrassed over the bright colours and her unfashionable clothing.

> Ooh. I still remember very vividly. We were just talking about this the other day, with one of my sisters. We used to go to swimming lessons at Garrett Road and you know this is when those three-quarter shorts *weren't* in. Oh they were the ultimate *dagginess*, like you wore three-quarter shorts you were just - and my mother made us wear them. I remember crying and crying. But to my mum it's just clothes. She never understood fully that in Australia the fashion was a very important part of your life, and even to this day I don't think she realises how important it really is. Self-esteem wasn't quite probably what it was meant to be. *Yes* you *did* try to hide. I really enjoyed school, so when I went to school I really came out of my shell and blossomed there, but um yes. Kind of being a quiet person, you know, don't draw attention to yourself, you know, cause of the daggy clothes... and quite often it would be recycled clothing as well. Like, what my sister wore, it would go down all four girls. All four girls would wear it so you can imagine by the time it got to me four years later it would be "Oh Mum, please!" you know".

Being different and identified as such was painful to her as a teenager, even though she could now look back and laugh at this, but she told me that immediately she and her sisters received their first wages, they bought themselves new, fashionable clothing. So, to someone from a different background who stands out as different by their clothing, this issue had, as Julia said, quite a negative impact on her self-esteem while growing up.

Language

Perhaps the most influential factor in the eventual loss of parental and early language, was due to out-marriage within this cohort (Table 9). Nearly every member of the cohort married Anglo-Australians who had either been born in Australia or who, strangely, had migrated to Australia with their British parents, at a young age. The main language in these homes was English, and it seems that only one or two of the 2nd generation's spouses were interested in learning to speak even a few words of Polish or German to communicate with their DP in-laws. While many of the 1st generation DPs had, over the years, learned to speak English to different degrees of proficiency, they still spoke their ethnic language in the home but gradually that too changed, especially when the younger children could not or would not speak in their parents' native tongue at home. Speaking English only had become associated with being Australian.

For a small number of my interviewees, being discouraged from speaking in the language they had grown up with at home once they married and had their own children caused some dissent. Monika was still slightly upset about the loss of her Polish language which her husband and mother-in-law had dissuaded her from speaking to her children. They (husband and mother-in-law) believed that children would not learn to speak English properly and that this would harm their education. This advice was well meant and probably based upon their observations of the difficulties many 2nd generation migrants had at school due to their non-English speaking backgrounds. Moreover, at that time, there was no assistance for teachers or children in this situation and as has already been noted, some of the interviewees were disadvantaged by this. Although studies on bilingualism in migrant children indicate an association between "fluent bilingualism" and better cognitive skills than in mono-lingualism (Portes, 2002, p.890), as already noted, coming from a non-English speaking background (NESB) did cause problems in schooling for a few of

my interviewees. Perhaps the cause of the problem was that, discouraged from becoming proficient in their parents' language/s and without support to learn English, they became fluent in neither.

If language and culture were a dividing factor in communication between the first and 2nd generations who would not speak their parents' languages, they created an even wider gap with the third generation. This was spoken about by both Peter and Monika, who were resigned to the fact that their children and their parents could only verbally communicate with each other on a superficial level. They compensated for this in other ways, for example, Monika stated that her mother had never really wanted to learn the English language. She said:

> And she regretted that, because when the grandkids come to see her, she couldn't sort of (speak with them). She communicated with them, but, like, she always used to talk to (husband) when I wasn't around in English, but when I was there she'd talk Polish.
>
> U: "But did she speak to your kids and to your grandchildren in Polish?"
>
> In English. But she wouldn't say much, you know. Might say "how's school?" Her favourite saying was "Eat". They walked in the door, out come the lollies, you know, she was good like that. Buying them things and that. Yes. She was really good.

Members of this cohort, who continued their close relationships with friends of similar background in the Polish, but not German, community, wanted to keep their heritage alive through the language. Walter enjoyed telling me about teaching his young grand-daughter to count to ten in Polish:

> But now "C", you try and get the "Cz" type of thing, it's very hard, and she - - I sort of have a bit of a giggle when she says "C" type of thing. And that's what I'm saying with the names and that sort of stuff, you just took it for granted.

The Catholic school Walter attended had only half a dozen non-migrant children in his class. He laughed as he gave examples of the difficulties teachers had with the

names: "…..there was no resentment or anything like that (on the part of the children)…. we sort of found it amusing that the teachers couldn't (pronounce their names) - and they used to bastardise the names".

The 2nd generation, such as Regina, Sylvia, and Joseph, who kept their parental language/s found that they were able to use their skills in the workplace, something which the monolingual Australianised 2nd generation were unable to do. However, the transfer of language and ethnic culture to the 3rd generation by those who had retained their ethnicity was limited, mainly because they had married into Australian or English families. This later became an issue of communication between 1st and 3rd generation as quoted above.

Belonging

Due to the assimilation policy in the early days of migration, the older members of the cohort were more aware of the pressure to fit in (assimilate) and reject their parental language, ethnicity and culture. Those born in Australia were less aware of this, especially if they had older siblings who were, in a way, the trail-blazers for the younger members of the family. Some children were more than happy to "fit in" as they felt they were "Australian" not foreign. For example, Richard, had mainly negative experiences with the Polish community, due to, he said, his mother being too "humble", so that they did not fit in with the other Poles. Even though he spoke only Polish with his parents, due to their refusal or inability to speak English, he identified as Australian. He stated that:

> I didn't really have an interest in anything that was Polish. It was like, I was born here, I was raised in Aussie land. I think Aussie land. Where it all started, maybe one day I'll go back and maybe see where it all started, I don't know. But I never had it in my heart.

Like Richard, most of the interviewees, when asked about where they belonged, invariably stated that they belonged in Australia and described themselves as Australian, rather than by their parental ethnicity or nationality. Yet, even though these interviewees identified as Australian, almost all stated that they had always felt different in some way due to their migrant backgrounds and some still felt an attachment to their parents' country of origin or felt some ambivalence as to where they fitted in or belonged. Many, however, qualified this by describing themselves as

being Australian of Polish or German heritage. Helena, similar to Ien Ang (2001), felt more at home in another European culture, yet was told by people there that "you are Australian". Moreover, it took some of the interviewees who had been born overseas years to feel that they belonged in Australia and the pull toward their European roots was also strong in this cohort. However, only one interviewee (Michael) still had a strong Polish identity.

Sylvia described the feeling of not fitting in anywhere as "restlessness, not being able to settle down". Indeed, her employment history and her early travels reflected this. This feeling changed when she finally found her father's Polish family, which she said was "a dream come true". Family was an important factor in this cohort, both overseas and in Australia. The majority who were ambivalent but said they belonged in Australia, said this because their children and grandchildren are Australian-born residents.

Thinking about what made her feel different, Danuta said it was not that other children treated her as different, that it was she herself who felt different. Another interviewee pointed out that the difference between the 2nd generation DPs and Australian children, for him, was more obvious:

> It's because, when I say "different" I suppose to a certain degree we *were* different, you know, because we had parents, you know, broken English and things were tough, as we all had it. I mean when I went to school the school jumper was something that my parents couldn't afford and I would have *killed* for a school jumper, but I suppose just to fit in with everybody else. But when you looked around all my Polish and Ukrainian and Yugoslav and the rest of the friends, they were in the same boat. They had exactly the same things. Their parents couldn't because they were all semi-skilled people living on the basic wage[83] (Fremantle focus group participant).

There were occasions where the parents were the impetus for assimilation into the Australian way of life, believing it would make it easier for their children. Katrina's

[83] This comment about all his friends' families not being able to afford and living on the basic wage is interesting as the DPs and other migrants, according to some of the interviewees, as well as some of the literature, points out how much they later achieved financially and materially.

parents changed their Polish surname by deed poll to an English name "because nobody could spell (Polish surname), and they were the only migrants in the area at the time, and they felt, you know, to become more Australianised". Katrina believed that, because they had the English name, and her mother made a big effort to blend into the community, they were more accepted in the town where she lived. Walter also mentioned that a few of his friends had Anglicised their Christian names, even changed them by Deed Poll as adults. As a student at Northam Senior High School in the late 1960s, I remember being surprised at how many students from Polish, "Yugoslav[84]" and even German backgrounds did this, but knew personally the embarrassment of having to spell out a foreign name each time the attendance roll was taken.

Speaking of her (Lithuanian/German) parents, Jessica declared:

> They were so desperate to fit in with society that they made a ruling straight away that they would speak English at home. They would learn as much as they could about the Australian culture to fit in…. but you know they did everything they could to get ahead, even to the extent of mostly eating Australian food.

Sport was a major entry into the Australian community, being associated by many 2nd generation males in particular as "being Aussie". Peter told me that: "I always considered myself as an Australian. I did Australian things. I grew up loving cricket, football, normal sort of things, you know".

Yet, Adrianne was not given the choice as to where she fitted in. The first time Adrianne and I spoke on the phone, she told me that, when she was in her forties, she had finally reclaimed her real name. At the ensuing interview, she explained. Adrienne lived, in the early years, with her family in a small town (of only 12 houses) in the middle of the Nullarbor[85], approximately 100 kilometres from Kalgoorlie[86], where she attended the 15 pupil-one teacher state-run primary school.

[84] In the Post-WWII period, the refugees from the Slavic countries which Tito had united under the name of Yugoslavia, referred to themselves as Yugoslavs, rather than as Croatian, Serbian, etc. This may have been because they thought of themselves as such, though more likely because Australians would not know the difference between these smaller nations.

[85] The Nullarbor is a large desert region in the middle of Australia, stretching from Western Australia, across South Australia and the Northern Territory. The name Nullarbor means "treeless". The main vegetation is low shrub and the dessert is distinctive for its red soil and flat terrain.

[86] Kalgoorlie is a major mining town in WA.

On Adrianne's first day of school she was informed by the teacher that: "You're Anne". "I just came home, and said "I'm Anne". "Oh, OK" (her mother). She remembered clearly that "…we all got Anglicised names when we walked into school". After a brief discussion about the school, I commented that Adrianna is not a difficult name. She responded:

> Well it was then, let me tell you, and you all had to become assimilated, it was one of the things. You ask any Poles, they've all got Anglicised names. It wasn't my choice, and of course my parents just obeyed, because that's what we had to do to be here.

She then elaborated on how this operated for her:

> Monday I'd go to school and I would become Anne, so you did all those beautiful Anne things and Friday afternoon I would become Adrianne again because I had nothing to do with the Australian community. We went to netball training, which was with *Cracovia* sporting people. We had Polish coaches, and everything was done in Polish. Saturday morning we went to Polish school between 9 and 12 and then in the afternoon we either went to soccer to help with the afternoon teas for *Cracovia* at Perry Lakes.

I asked Adrianne whether there was any possibility of combining the two lives or whether they were completely different?"

> Um, no (no combining).
>
> (U): "Were you comfortable with that?"
>
> I *was* but there were times when you noticed the difference, and you said to yourself, well this was my life and that is your life. I had two girlfriends at school, all through high school .... There would be school activities for example, where they would go to the movies. We just never had the money so I never went to the movies. They went on snowing trips, and they never, ever, even sent postcards; but we were fantastic friends, each other's

> bridesmaids, godparents for each other's kids, you know, all that rubbish. But it was only about twenty years ago they realized that we were so different.

In a country where there was no extended family, at least for this group of migrants, belonging was very important to many of the 2nd generation and was, in some cases, a cause of family conflict. Katie rejected her German/Bulgarian background and wanted only to be Australian. She said this could have been partly in reaction to her mother's constant negativity toward Australia, something which upset her greatly.

> Mum, all she ever said "I hate Australia, I hate Australia" That's all I ever heard so as I grew up I got quite resentful about it because I feel I was an Australian. And I even said to them one day "I'm an Australian" and they were *very* angry. I felt I was because I was born here so I was trying to protect my land but, they didn't want to hear about it, so.

Natural environment

Something that became obvious during the interviews was the closeness that my interviewees had developed with nature. Being brought up in country locations in their early lives, or in outer suburban areas which, at that time, were still mainly bushland, they had a natural outdoor playground. Jerzy and his friends enjoyed their outdoor activities:

> One of the guys from school, we used to go and stay on his farm … and some of the things, like, we used to have underground cubbies.
>
> (Ursula): "Did you sink them yourselves?"
>
> Yeah, and we put tin and sand back over it, then the parents would fill them in because they thought someone could drive across them and…, but I think the older kids used to like them because they could go and smoke in there (laughs).

Jerzy's sister also attended Young Australia League camps near Fremantle and, he says, made many friends from the country at those camps.

The physical freedom gave the interviewees an opportunity to become independent and resourceful from a young age. I was amazed when Walter related the following story:

> Him (Walter's friend) and I saved our money and we bought an old car, an old *Standard* car, we used to drive it around in the paddock next door to his place when we could afford a gallon of petrol.
>
> (U): "How *old* were you?"
>
> I would have been 12 I suppose, 12-13. So we used to save up. It cost us 5 Pounds, and then we used to save up our picture money and all the rest of this stuff, and collect bottles, and sell those, and then buy a gallon of petrol so we could run it (the car) around.

Pieter's memories of his life in the Perth hills, where he and his friends used to roam around the paddocks and down the river, brought back nostalgic feelings of his summer school holidays:

> I can remember going out to the Swan (Valley) and sitting under the grapevines while Mum picked grapes in the summertime. It was stinking hot! Didn't matter to me, I had to be there because she couldn't very well leave me on my own. So I went out there to eat the grapes and be sick and - - (laughs).

It was evident that a life-long love of nature has persisted in this cohort. At least three of my interviewees had taken up painting in later life in which the Australian landscape theme featured strongly, while one interviewee was actively involved in an environmental group for the preservation of at-risk wetlands in the Perth metropolitan area.

Sometimes, this love of the Australian conflicted with an inherent love of the European landscape. It was also interesting to find that the theme of nature came through with the question of belonging. For example, Joanna, when, thinking about whether she felt as if she belonged in Europe or Australia, spoke of her love for *both* the Australian bushland and the European landscape.

Paul laughingly described this as: "almost like looking at a gum tree through pine tree eyes". He explained:

> I travelled around Australia, hitch-hiking and getting to know the country, but there always seemed to be this kind of a dualism I guess that, you know, the European forests and everything else and then you also know the Australian bush and the harshness and so you have that harshness and the softness.

The other aspect of the nature of the Australian bushland was that, for some children, it took them away from the volatility of the household, so it was also, in a way, healing. I realised this when Richard, in answer to the question of where he felt he belonged, stated that:

> It was a backyard that faced onto the Avon River, and across the (railway) station. There was times I used to escape down there and that was my playground, the river. So I see it as a serene sort of place, in its own way, despite the turmoil that went on at times (at home).

Extended family

The longing to have had an extended family while growing up was almost universal among the 2nd generation DPs. Many expressed a wish that they could have had a grandparent, aunt, or uncle to talk to and visit, just like the Australian children. Regina felt this lack, she said:

> growing up in (country town) with the Australian kids, when it came to our school holidays everybody went to Nanna and Pops, and they always had a holiday house in Mandurah. We never had any aunties or uncles or nanna or pops to go to.

Joanna though didn't feel the intense desire for extended family that many of the interviewees had expressed. I asked Joanna: "Did you ever miss having an extended family around you?"

> No, because I didn't know what an extended family was. I know I had a grandmother in Germany and I had cousins and things but (pause)... no, I didn't. To me, my mother and my brother and my step-father were my family. Especially my mother. I was very, very close to my mother. That was

all I needed really. But it would've been nice. We had lots of friends. Maybe some friend who was a bit older that I could think of as grandma or something like that but…

Perhaps the most poignant account of what having family meant came from Rebecca. I asked the question about family and belonging, partly because Rebecca had visited Poland a few years before our interview. Without hesitation, she replied:

This (Australia) is where I belong. I suppose because my kids are here, Mum and Dad are here (in-laws). Mum and Dad, I don't always tell them everything but I'm pretty frank with them, aren't I (to mother-in-law). I'll tell about my kids, and things like that. It was because I could never communicate in that manner with *my* mother. *My* mother would always look at you with that face as if to say "*Well!*" (narrows her eyes at me)

U: With narrowed eyes?

Yes, like, "You're talking rubbish". She just wouldn't listen and couldn't communicate for things that I needed to know. When you have little kids and things like that – none of that was discussed, whereas I'd be bouncing it off Mum (mother-in-law). So I was lucky and so therefore, to me, *she* was like my mum. You know what I mean? In helping. We got married in '78 so we were what, 18, 19, had children at 21, so you always need to bounce something off, so it was Mum it would bounce off, so many times.

(U): "So *that* was your family then, wasn't it?"

That's right. So *my* family is *his* family.

(U): "So when you were growing up, did you feel that lack of family?"

Yes, no uncles, no aunties, no-one. When I first met (husband) and we went down (to visit his family) for Christmas, which I thought was the greatest thing. All the boys came with their partners and they all went down to

> Nanna's place in (coastal town). …. And the auntie would go there, spinster auntie. And we'd go down there and these kids, these kids just had a *great* time. And us girls would get involved in it. And I'm thinking "*This* is what family's all about". You know. I'd probably never had anything like this. And she had games and she'd put, we had to go to the beach and they had 20 cent pieces and hid them somewhere in this little 2-bedroom flat, in the lounge-room part of it only of course, and we'd get in there and the 6 of us would be fighting each other. We're 17 and we're fighting each other for a 20 cent bit! It was fun! And I thought "This is just it!" and I said to (husband) "You don't know how lucky you are. You've got a Grandma and an Auntie, you've got Mum and Dad who just have fun, and you go and do things, and your brothers. You can't grasp not having that, because you've had it all your life". And for me it was just fantastic, because we never, ever, had that at home, never ever.

Finding roots

Even though members of the cohort expressed their desire for extended family when younger, a few actually did have ongoing contact with family in Europe, though mainly in Germany and generally through their German parent. Three[87] interviewees had extended family, such as grandparents, aunts or uncles, who migrated at the same time as their parents or were brought out at a later date. The others either had family behind the Iron Curtain with whom their parents kept in contact but could not visit for many years, if ever, and not before the political situation in Eastern Europe had settled enough to relax border controls. Finally, there were the interviewees who had no knowledge about their families behind the Iron Curtain who, they thought, had probably died during the Second World War.

The interviewees who still had family in Poland related that their parents regularly sent over money and parcels to their relatives. This was an extra financial strain on

[87] Two siblings and one other interviewee

DP families in Australia and one which, at that time, some interviewees did not understand, being young and politically unaware. Rebecca was one of these children. When I asked whether she knew about family in Poland, she answered:

> Yes. Didn't know who they were though. All I just thought is that Mum just keeps on sending money over there and buying everything and we're missing out on everything, we get nothing here, everything was, you know, getting money to Poland. So for my uncle over there, he had a farm, so Mum and my uncle from England would send money all the time, to buy tractors and you know …. Yes. So we missed out *heaps* as kids because of that, because my Mum worked till well past retirement age to help everybody in Poland. Which sort of left a little bit of distaste in my mouth, thinking, you know.

Rebecca later visited her family and came to understand why her mother had been sending money to Poland. She also developed a close relationship with families she visited.

However, a few interviewees were taken aback when they visited their families in Poland to find that they were not suffering financially as their parents had been led to believe. Others came to feel that their parents' sacrifice in sending money and parcels was not appreciated. Kristina was particularly hurt:

> She (Kristina's mother) used to send all sorts of things (from Germany to Poland). And even when she came to Australia, she used to send clothes and food and - - because things were really bad under the Russians, so you know, she'd send tea and coffee and any clothes that people didn't want. And we weren't a very wealthy family as such but Mum always sent things over there. So yes. I said to my husband that when Mum was in the nursing home, they'd forgotten her because she wasn't writing. Not everybody. So it hurt me to know that when they needed Mum she was (available for them but they weren't there for her).

The relatives in Poland had the mistaken impression of their DP relatives' situation, thinking that if they lived in Australia, then they must be rich. They did not understand that, by looking after *them*, DP families were going without. More than one interviewee, on returning to Australia following a visit to their Eastern European relatives told their parents to stop sending money as "they have more than we do". However, most of these visits took place after Communism in Eastern Europe had collapsed and circumstances had changed.

Peter had no interest in exploring his European heritage. It was his older sister, who had come to Australia as a young child, who searched for many years to find out about their family. He laughed as he told me that they thought they had no family in Poland but his sister's search had found "hundreds" of relatives.

Adrianne too, after a long search, found her father's family in Poland. She described the moment this happened:

> Saturday, Hubby and I were all out with sporting fixtures and all sorts of things and I got home about ten minutes past eleven and I had this message from my girlfriend, that her cousin had been trying all day to tell me "He found family". It took me a few minutes so I rang my girlfriend and said "I don't care if you are asleep but I have to talk to you" and she said "No, definitely found family" and she explained the situation. By then I'm a blubbering mess, so that is when all the crying started and I think about ten minutes later I'm on the floor. I just couldn't do a thing it was just, *everything* exploded, and I was sobbing and sobbing. Hubby said "Are you coming to bed?" and I'm ... so he got me a couple of boxes of tissues, and at 3 o'clock I could just *not stop crying*, it was awful, I don't know why, and all I wanted was my father.

Adrianne visited her father's family, who were keen to welcome her and quickly developed a strong bond with them.

The need for family, therefore, existed always, but it is obvious that it was mainly the family in Australia, not Europe, who sought the connection. Additionally, when my interviewees reconnected with their family in Europe, they encountered family

networks in which they were not included. They were seen as “the Australians” but who were also distant family.

The connection with, and search for, extended family from Europe has been an important part of interviewees’ lives. It was more than curiosity, it became a search for meaning and historical identity. Paul had made a number of visits to Ukraine from when he was a young man. On these visits, he formed an instant and strong bond with his European family. The following conversation demonstrates why this was so important to him. He described his first visit to his father’s family in Poland:

> I travelled overseas the end of 1972. I was away for two years, and I went over to England, as I have friends over there who used to play soccer here. But my intention at that time was to meet up with my family, and I travelled from London to Holland by train then made my way to this little village (in Poland) where, I told you, I first met my youngest auntie. But I tell you what, it was hard leaving the family and sort of moving on. Each time you spent with each family and then mixed with your cousins and stuff and then had to move on, it was a real wrench …. as I got older I thought I would love to meet my grandparents. Dad’s side, well, they were dead, Mum’s Dad was dead, there was only one grandmother and she was already in her eighties or something, and I got to meet her again. I couldn’t speak Polish very well, but it was just the fact of seeing her and being in her presence, and you got the stories from the other relatives. But it was the fact you have seen her and hugged her.

So for Paul it seemed that in the initial contact with family, it was the tangible aspect of the reunion that gave it importance. However, once the link was made, Paul continued to visit Poland. I asked him, “So what do you think brought you back all the time?

> I think it’s the links with history, the ghosts of the past, the stories you have been told. But I think there is also, especially for my Dad, a kind of a healing process because I don’t think he ever got over not seeing his family again, or

his Mum and Dad and also going back to his own village. So he never re-established that contact with his roots from where he was ripped out of (his father was captured and became a POW in Germany). It's a bit like stolen generation type stuff.

(U): Yes, yes so you were doing that for him is that what you mean?

Yes, it was almost a symbolic thing. I did it for him.

(U): How much of it is sort of establishing your own identity?

Yes, although, (thinks) I think that we all need a past to stand on and having that link with your history has been important.

(U): In what way?

Ah, having stories to tell; stories about those people and where possible and them tell me their stories. Like my Dad's brother, when I met him he was in hospital and his family took me to meet him and he just melted in tears and just could not believe this, his brother's son had come to visit.

Paul was not the only one who, once they had visited family in Europe for the first time, was "more at peace" and found that the experience gave them greater understanding of parents who had been emotionally isolated from them. More than one of the interviewees stated that this had changed their relationship with their parents for the better. Danuta and Julia, as well as Paul said they would love their children to know their family in Europe, because, as Danuta declared: "You've got to do your heritage".

Paul's comment about "stolen generation type stuff", even though referring to his parent, touches upon the similarity of experiences with 2nd generation DPs and *their* parents. The Stolen Generation refers to the policy in the 1950s and 1960s in Australia of forcibly removing Indigenous children from their families and placing them in institutions or for adoption by "white" families. It was an attempt to assimilate the children into becoming "white" but caused great heartache for indigenous families and the children, who searched for years to find each other. Similar to the DPs and their children who were expected to assimilate, the

indigenous children were also given English names, and made to speak English rather than their native tongues.

Family dynamics

As there were no existing resources in Australia, apart from what their parents could provide in the form of labour, much of this cohort's early life was trying to establish themselves in parallel with their parents. The absence of pre-existing financial resources, personal or institutional contacts or networks isolated DP families from the Australian community in the first two years at least. Due to the war, when the DPS were removed from their homes and communities, members of this cohort had no intellectual or educational legacy to draw upon. Even interviewees with well-educated parents found that the language difficulties and different education systems prevented them from utilising this resource.

In their families, the 2nd generation were powerless, they had no say in any decisions made by their parents, as the following interviewees point out. Janina's mother was even excluded from the important decision of where to build their home:

> My Dad bought a block of land– and the land was in Dianella (Perth suburb) but it was in the middle of the bush, no roads. I think it must have just had electricity and water. But it was mainly a Ukrainian community. He bought a block of land there. It was very hard for my Mum. She hated it because she never saw the land.
>
> (U): Oh, he bought it without her?
>
> Yes, and it was just virgin bush. So he was working, right from the word go he was working 7 days a week. He would go every week by train and build what we call a barrack. It was two rooms, they were made of timber and asbestos with a tin roof. They were actually very, very nice. Later on when I grew up I looked and they're so tiny but they weren't tiny to me. Dad was excellent at building and had that German precision and perfectionism. But every weekend. Not much family life.

Joanna's step-father too was determined to provide a home, no matter how long it took, and probably unaware of the effect on the rest of the family. She spoke of the positive and negative sides of this:

> And he was a very, oh what would I say - stubborn person. What he thought was, like, you don't go and borrow money from a bank. But they (parents) bought a block of land that had a garage on it. A single car garage. And we moved into that and he built a little annexe onto it which was kitchen, dining room sort of stuff. And he built his own house. And that means don't borrow any money. You build as you accumulate money. He didn't want to have a debt. He didn't trust banks. So he made his own bricks, dug his own foundations, built everything. You know, this took a period of ten years. Meantime, we were living in these cramped conditions. Which were okay because there was, there were positive benefits to that. I'll tell you about that in a minute. *She* worked full-time. *He* worked. And then week-ends were always spent building on the house. But then he would get help from other of his friends. Because they did the same. It was sort of like they helped each other. My brother left long before the house was finished, and I left before the house was finished, so I never got any benefits of this new house.

Joanna's brother was 12 years of age when the family migrated to Australia and was, therefore, recruited to assist with building the new house, something which Joanna did not realise for many years he deeply resented: "And I was talking to him once" she said, "and he said "Nobody *ever* ask me to make another friggin' brick in my life!""

Joanna later talked about the positive side of their living arrangements in Cowra, NSW:

> I grew up where we all slept in the one room. In the garage. My mother's bed was here, my bed was there, my brother's bed was here and in the middle was a table where we did our homework. And here was the annexe where we ate

(indicating with her hands). And I reckon, that children get frightened at night sometimes, when they wake up. And they're a long way from the parents so they've got to go through that dark to get to the parents. I never had that. I always felt secure and safe.

Power and discipline

An interesting aspect emanating from my interviews was the issue of power within the DP families. What was noticeable about this cohort was the dominating influence of the parents and, sometimes even the oldest siblings. The pressure to assimilate put pressure on families, creating in many cases an imbalance of power within the family. While the children respected and even feared their parents, in other ways they were also ashamed of them because of their lack of English and their "strange" or foreign ways. Additionally, discipline was often very strict and lead to acting out by some children. For example, sisters Danuta and Julia both confided that they had rebelled as teenagers. Julia said she rebelled against the family traditions, which were associated with religion, while Danuta rebelled for her freedom.

Danuta told me that she was the "path-finder" in the family, which I did not understand, so she explained:

As a kid growing up, I found that I wasn't allowed out as much as most of them (her friends) because of the strictness of my mother. And that's what I mean by making the path. Rebelling.

(U): Is that how you dealt with that?

Yep. I rebelled. My poor parents.

(U): Can I ask you in what way you did that?

I took off from home. Sneak out the window. Left home from about sixteen and a half but then I came back and then went into nursing. Lived out of home when I was nursing but then I came back when I was 21, 20. Yeah about 20 I came back.

Discipline was a big issue in the 2nd generation families though this was handled differently in each family. Some members of the cohort had experienced harsh

discipline and the pressure to perform at school, even though there was no assistance for them due to the lack of parental language skills, sometimes limited education of the parents themselves, or the different education systems between Australia and Europe.

The overly strict discipline in the family was intolerable for some of my interviewees and was stated as the reason for their departure from home at an early age either for work or, for two of the females in this cohort, to marry.

While Danuta spoke about her mother and the strong discipline which she exerted over her daughters, she also deeply admired her for her strength and the values that she and Danuta's father had instilled in the family. This was something that she also strove for in her own family. It was evident, from what she told me, that her children had the benefit of having their grandmother included as an important member of the family. In fact, Danuta and her sister had husbands who were welcomed into the family and who had a great respect for their parents-in-law.

Looking back, Danuta came to understand the reason for her mother's strictness. She talked about the difference between herself and her siblings and the extra pressure upon her as the eldest child:

> Yep, did all the dancing, the singing (Polish). But I think there was only 3 of us that did it. The youngest one missed out. By that time Mum was getting tired. Even (third oldest sister) didn't do as much as (second oldest sister) and I did. Because Mum actually said she treated us all the same and I looked at Mum and I went - I don't bring anything up, because, I mean what's the point of bringing up what happened 30, 40 years ago. To me that's gone, that's gone, you can't do anything about it now. And … I said "Mum do you want me to be honest?" She looked at me and I said "Mum, she's the youngest I'm the oldest. Big difference mother." And I just left it at that. Because I thought, at 80 what's this going to achieve? She said to me "Danuta, if I was like that I'm sorry. I only did it because I was scared."
>
> (U): What d'you mean "like that"?

Like being strict with us. She says “I was scared”.

(U): So she eased off with the others?

Oh yeah, it eased off a lot with the last two. But she says there being no telephone she’d sit waiting for you to come home, you know. Like the typical mother waiting for you to come home. And if you didn’t come home, naturally, what’s the first the anxious parent does when you come home? Blow her stack back, you know, cause of the fear. She apologized. I said “What are you apologizing for?” Because to me… I sat back and thought “Well yeah I suppose, with no telephone and no communication what else *are* you going to do?

Paradoxically, there was also, especially in the early days, a great reliance by parents on their children because of their children’s greater knowledge of English and their increasing familiarity with the Australian society and culture. Many of the interviewees had to accompany parents to medical appointments, write school notes, and fill out tax returns and other official documents for their parents, and for some this was a life-long practice.

Jenifer was quite proud that she was always the one selected to go to the doctor with her mother, as she obviously quite liked the responsibility.

Dad reckons that “You'd better take this one, Jenifer, she knows what’s what” more or less. I had to grow up quick to look after Mum and Dad. Well the elder sisters, they were away working, and my brother was away, so I was the next one in line sort of, to keep an eye on Mum and Dad.

Older brothers and “second mothers”

The role that was given to the 2nd generation as the liaison, even replacement, for their parents was not always a conscious choice. It was often foist upon them by circumstances outside their control.

As DP families were isolated geographically and socially in the first few years of migration, there were no arrangements for childcare and as nearly all of the DPs,

men and women, were in paid employment, they could not be called upon to look after each other's children.

Katie's parents both worked, so her older sister had to look after herself:

> My Mum worked in a restaurant and my sister really, even at three, really looked after herself a bit. As she got older, Mum said, Mum would send her to the movies but she said in those days it was safe. She (the sister) could sit there through two sessions and watch the movies. And Mum would sometimes have her in the restaurant in the corner.

A great deal of responsibility rested on the shoulders of the older children of this cohort, as they had to look after their siblings as well as take on other household duties, such as cleaning and setting up meals for the family. In the absence of her father, Elka assisted her mother by taking on traditional "men's" work, such as chopping wood, while her mother took care of the household duties. "I was the "man of the family", she told me.

Position in family was important, as was gender. The oldest siblings bore the most responsibility, with younger siblings buffered from many challenges faced by their older siblings. For example, the oldest was usually the communicator for the family, though all at some stage did this, while younger siblings benefited by having an older sibling who could speak English, and understood the Australian culture.

The economic circumstances of the DP families affected the dynamics within the family. Danuta, talking about the responsibility she had as the oldest child of four siblings:

> As the oldest Mum expected me to teach them a lot ….. growing up Mum would look after the.., like when (youngest sister) was born I would take care of the other two. You know, make sure they were dressed or whatever. But Mum would have the clothes all laid out, we'd all be bathed, I'd make sure they were dressed. Things like setting the table at the age of 5. You know, little things, and you don't think of it as chores or anything, you just did it. And like I said Mum was very strict. The old belt was there but I don't think

> it harmed us, I think we deserved it most of the time. With four of us and she's working full time.

However, she was affronted when one of her sisters accused her of being the mother's favourite and even more so when her mother claimed "you're the second mother". "No, Mum" she declared, "I'm not the second mother. *You're* the mother." Yet, even as a child she was aware that this had been her role. She confessed that, "only about a year ago, I looked back and I thought "I knew that all along as a kid. I was the second mother".

In some families, the responsibility taken on by older siblings forged a bond between those siblings, even though the older was taking on a pseudo-parental role. Even when Peter left high school, his brother was there to give him advice on finding employment. Other times, such as in Danuta's circumstances, the older sister taking on the pseudo- parenting role resulted in more divisiveness among siblings.

Some of the cohort had only one parent at home for various lengths of time, either while the father was away in a work camp, or because one of their parents was institutionalised due to "nervous breakdown".

A major reason why interviewees in this cohort had so much responsibility, and which was linked to the lack of resources that the DP families could access, was the issue of living in families with traumatised parents, and indeed, sometimes children. Monika had to act as go-between for her mother when her father was hospitalised:

> I do remember we were still in school when Dad had a nervous breakdown, and the neighbours were taking us to Perth, and they were Australian neighbours, and we'd always be at the fence talking with them, because we - - mum would be there, but she couldn't understand what they were saying, so we had to translate for her.

The stigma of mental illness when my interviewees were growing up meant that there was little support for the 2nd generation, or for the spouse of the affected person. I was surprised by the number of interviewees who told me that they had taken on the role of looking after the family when a parent was hospitalised with mental health issues. In rare cases, it was mentioned that a neighbour had been of assistance, for example, in providing transport to visit the ill parent. However the

child, usually eldest, took charge of the family while still having to attend school and study.

Rebecca was one of the children whose mother was frequently hospitalised for mental health issues, leaving her alone at home and caring for her father. Prior to her older sister leaving home, the older sister had looked after Rebecca on these occasions.

When Bernard was telling me about his parents' work situation, with both parents working I asked: "So were you often left to look after yourself?" and was taken aback by his answer: "Yes. If Mum got crook… I had to look after the others … I had to wash and cook and everything". "Oh, how old were you?" "I was about twelve. There was no what d'you call it, support for mothers".

Bernard's mother had a nervous breakdown due to stress and was hospitalised for about 5-6 months or, he thinks, maybe even 12 months. At the age of 12-14, Bernard was the main care-giver for his siblings, two younger twin brothers and an even younger sister. He looked after his siblings and helped them with their homework, "used to do the lot". Additionally, he would take the train from a small country town each day to visit his mother while the next door neighbour, who was also his godmother, minded his siblings. This was a huge responsibility for a young boy to take on, though Bernard did not elaborate on how he managed.

In the early years, most of the 2nd generation were responsible, not just for their siblings, but in some ways to assist their parents: One interviewee was highly amused as she imagined the taxation officers reading through her father's taxation return, which had been filled out in her childlike writing:

> When I was about 8 I was doing their income tax and my Dad would say "Fill this in". He'd say "Read out the question". And he'd say "Put this in" and I'd say "But it's not true" and he'd say "Doesn't matter. Put it in" (laughs). And here I was going to a Catholic school where we were told "No lies" (Bunbury focus group participant).

Sometimes this situation was thrust upon interviewees. Paul relates how, as a teenager, he was informed by his father's General Practitioner that "Your father is a very sick man" but he didn't know what he was supposed to do with that information. Because of the lack of communication between the medical practitioner

and the father, his father's condition worsened. It transpired that the father was not compliant with his medication but did not have the language skills to explain to the doctor about his adverse reactions to his medication.

Peter spoke about the long-term effect of his parents not wanting to do the English classes that were on offer when they first migrated. He felt this placed an unnecessary responsibility on the 2nd generation in his family, especially as his parents aged:

> I'd ask them, because I was asked to ask them through the school (to go to English lessons). But mind you, our family wasn't the only one that didn't go. So it didn't become such an issue. It's a thing I remember as being important *now* as it's those sort of things that stick in your head. But it wasn't that important that it made a difference to the way I either felt about them or.. I didn't get embarrassed about it or anything like that. But it did make things a lot more difficult than it could have been or should have been. Because there were times later on where, once we sort of grew up and left the family and had our own lives, they'd be virtually on a daily basis calling any one of the four of us to do things for them, you know. I'm sure you know the sort of thing. And you'd think, well, "If you'd bloody well learned some English". The things they were asking were fairly basic things. And you'd think "Well, if you took the time to do it you'd be able to do it and you'd feel better about it". Ah, but it didn't work that way.

Secrets and silences

During interviews, I got the impression that there were many secrets and silences surrounding the interviewees' lives. This was something with which I could connect, as it reflected my own family experience. Within this cohort, there were few who actually knew about their parents' past lives. Even the interviewees who were born in Australia, particularly the younger siblings, had not heard much about the first few years of migration, in spite of the impact it later had on their lives.

Neither Julia nor Danuta had any idea that their father had been one of the DPs who had arrived in Australia on the *General Langfitt*, even though a book had been written on this subject. As Julia was telling me about her family, she was struck by how little she knew of her own background:

> Now I realise just how much I don't know about my parents. Just took them for granted actually. Mum and Dad have never been one to talk big about their childhood or... I think I learned more about my mother when I actually went back to Poland, like I said 10 years ago with my children, and she gave us names of relatives to go and visit and stuff like that and I learned *more* about my mother in the 8 weeks than I probably did in my whole life.

Peter too knew very little of his parents' past lives, due to their refusal to speak about it or even to talk about their homeland, Poland. While he accepted this, something which did puzzle him was that:

> They still considered themselves Polish when they were here, and yet they didn't want to talk about Poland. I had to learn everything about my parents, even where they were born, from my older sister once she started researching, other than from them telling me what their upbringing was, you know. I didn't even realise that we had a sister that had died, in between myself and my older sister, until my sister actually told me about 10 or 15 years ago. They didn't talk about their personal experiences in Poland or anything like that.

Sylvia, like myself, knew almost nothing about her father until he was in his eighties when she had to assist him with filling out Centrelink[88] forms:

> About 2005, roughly about then, and I helped, my father heard about it (the application for recompense from the German government) from some Polish friends. So we got the documents, and I had to help Dad fill in the documents

[88] Centrelink is a Federal government organisation dealing with social security, such as different types of pensions, unemployment benefits and other social services.

> and there was a big section where he could *not* tell you, he never spoke about. He never ever spoke about his experiences. The only bit of information I got was from my mother who'd tell me a few bits and pieces, and then of course a *very* traumatic day was when Dad had to tell me to get down in this document for his application where and what camps he was working in and where he was working. He couldn't tell you the names, but they must have known, as he got his money and it all had to go up to Switzerland via Canberra.

Sylvia's situation mirrored that of our own family, when my father was forced to apply for a Polish pension even though he was emphatic that he was not eligible. Like Sylvia's father, my father too was reluctant to divulge information, with the result that when it was forthcoming at the Centrelink meeting it was traumatic not only for himself but for my sister and I, who were with him. We had no idea of his history as forced labour in Germany during the war. While Sylvia does not mention any other repercussions, her statement was echoed by Paul in that:

> I have always, even to this day, I have struggled to know more of my Dad about what... Even though he talked about his childhood it wasn't to any great degree, you never got that feeling like I got from my Mum, that richness and the depth.

For two of the interviewees there were also doubts about their mothers, one focus group participant declaring that: "My mother was a Nazi". What she was referring to was that her mother had been a member of the Hitler Youth.

It was clear that some of the interviewees were drawn into their parents' secrets, sometimes unwittingly and sometimes with awareness, even though they did not agree with the complicity. Danuta was angry with her mother after she left home,

> …because I used to lie. When I used to go see Mum, when I wasn't living at home, and her friends were around, I'd say "Oh Mum I'm going to visit so and so" because it wasn't right in the Polish community that the daughter had left home.

Having to perpetuate her mother's lies, because "good Polish girls" did not leave home, angered Danuta so much that she confronted her mother about this, refusing to lie any more to "save face".

Other secrets that were revealed had far reaching consequences for the interviewees involved. Both Monika and Jessica, each at a different time in their life, found out that they were adopted. Jessica discovered accidentally when she was a teenager that the family that she would sometimes stay with in Perth were actually her father, her brother and her father's second wife, her birth mother having left the family soon after arriving in Australia. It was then disclosed that her father, who had no assistance from any authorities or the Polish/DP community in the town where they lived when his marriage broke down, had to separate Jessica and her baby brother. Her brother went first to an orphanage and then various other care situations while Jessica stayed with another DP husband and wife. She was told that when she was about 5 years old, her father remarried and her younger brother went to live with his father's new family but the new wife did not want to take Jessica as well, so her foster parents quickly took the opportunity to adopt.

While her relationship with her father did not change on finding out that she was adopted, Jessica stating that he continued to be like a family friend, it was a different situation when her biological mother one day turned up on her doorstep, wanting to reclaim their relationship. The exposure of these secrets, and the ensuing contact with her birth mother soon after, changed Jessica's life dramatically, unsettling for a while her previously safe and secure existence with her adoptive parents who she loved dearly.

When Monika was in her forties, her mother had to be placed in care, so she and her sister arranged for her to go into in a nursing home in Perth. Monika still lived in the country. While in the nursing home, her mother had become suicidal and was exhibiting stress-like behaviours, which Monika thought went back to when she (the mother) was younger. The doctor in charge in the home discovered from the mother that Monika was adopted. He rang her and, without stopping to think, let out her mother's life-long secret:

> "Specialist", Monika said. "a doctor from Perth. And he rang me up and he said "Mrs (name)?", and I said "Yes." And then he said "Did you know you were adopted?" *Just like that!* I said "I beg your pardon!" He said "Did you

know you were adopted?" I said "No, I didn't!" And I said "why are you telling me this *now*?""

Monika's life was turned upside down by the news of her adoption. Her mother confirmed that it was true. But it made her question her position in her family in relation to her sister and parents. She then searched through the Red Cross to find her biological mother, which was a very emotional process for her. When family was found she went to Germany, and met up with her half-siblings. The greatest impact of her discovery was in not knowing what had happened to her biological father. She told me that, when she was in Europe, every old man she saw that would have been her father's age, she wondered "could *he* be my father?"

Interviewees who sought their family in Europe, such as Monika and Adrianne, seemed to have the most intense emotions on finding them. Others, who found out about their half-siblings while they were visiting other family in Europe, did not seem to have the same connection. It seemed that there was an attempt on both sides to build relationships but the gap was too wide and eventually contact lessened.

The greatest secrets however, were hidden within the family, some of the 2nd generation not even realising that they were secret, just something that was not talked about or even thought of. I refer, of course, to the effects of parental trauma upon the family and, specifically, the 2nd generation.

Of the 30 interviewees in my cohort almost one third reported mental ill-health or stress related behaviours within their family, typically of a parent, including schizophrenia, alcoholism, depression requiring hospitalisation, as well as suicide of either a parent, sibling or both. A few also stated that they had sought counselling later in life as a result of their past experiences. Yet these experiences were, in a way, normalised by at least one of the interviewees. Richard, when talking about the uncontrolled discipline of boys by their fathers and their attitudes towards friends who were not "good enough" stated that "we all understood, we were all in the same boat". There was also a tacit understanding within this group of friends that their fathers suffered from stress-related behaviours which, not knowing any differently, they accepted as normal. They would say to each other about their fathers, "Don't worry about him, he's stuffed in the head". They did not understand while growing up that, in many ways, theirs was not a "normal" upbringing and saw it even as being cultural.

Walter's story too highlighted the effect of the war and how it impacted upon the family as well as the community. He came straight to the point:

> So my mother died in 1962. She took her own life. A lot of the - - quite a few of the migrants did.
>
> (U): "Did they?"
>
> Yes. And another lady that was in there, lived in our street, she took her own life as well, so did a guy in Clackline that I remember. I think the traumas and stuff that they saw during the war, or whatever, they just couldn't come to terms with.

What he did not say was the effect that these suicides, including that of his own mother, had upon himself and the other children who were in this situation.

Rebecca, however, did provide some insight into what it was like for her to live with two parents who had been traumatised by war. When Rebecca first telephoned me to volunteer for interview, one of the first things she said was: "I spoke with my sister and she says I should call you. We need to tell people." When I asked what she meant, she said: "Why we have no confidence".

When I met with Rebecca at her home, her mother in law was also present for the interview. I realised later that this was because Rebecca was revealing events about herself that very few people knew. She was fortunate to have a loving, caring mother-in-law to support her during the interview as well as corroborate what Rebecca told me.

As the youngest of three children, Rebecca never saw the soft side of her parents, as her two older siblings had. Her father was an alcoholic and her mother was hospitalised on at least three occasions due to mental health issues, the last time when Rebecca was about 11 years old. She told me that both her parents had been traumatised by near death events and loss during the war. Rebecca grew up in a household of constant conflict and domestic violence. Visitors to her home were discouraged because of the shame of her father's alcoholism. When she was very young her older sister (eight years older) looked after her when the father was working and the mother was hospitalised due to mental health issues. Rebecca's older siblings left home as soon as they were able, so as a teenager she was left to

deal with her father while her mother was away or at work. “I grew up alone” she said. Being left alone to deal with her father, and living with a mother who she thought cared more about the family still in Poland than herself, the result was an estrangement from both parents. From her father for his violent behaviour toward her older brother; and toward her mother, who she felt did not protect her from the father.

She told me that, “I learned how to deal with drunks – you always agree with them. You never argue. It’s the safest way”. Ironically, when her father became terminally ill, she was the sibling allocated to take care of him, which was extremely traumatic for her, especially given their uneasy relationship. She said: “I was only about 30 years old, and I (had to look after him while he was dying).

I asked how her upbringing had affected her relationships with other people.

> No-one really sees who I really am. Very good actress, always happy, as far as everybody’s concerned. Um, you can hide things, you don’t tell everybody everything. Can’t afford to tell everybody everything because they’ll think you’re crazy. Well, a lot of my friends didn’t know what it was like living in that place, so. Mm.

Rebecca hid her situation well. As she said, no-one at school knew what her home life was like, even though there were indicators such as rebellious behaviour as a teenager and, she said, her siblings had both developed extreme nervous habits. I asked whether anyone in the church or her teachers at the school were aware of her situation. She was sceptical:

> Well those nuns didn’t really interfere with you, didn’t give a ….. about what you...(didn’t care). There was no.... Like teachers now they have warning signals that they can notice or whatever, but none of that was happening.

I asked how the dysfunction of her home affected the way in which she related to her own children. She admitted that, initially, she had been very harsh with them, until she realised that she was repeating the pattern that her parents had set. After this her parenting style had changed.

While Rebecca was completely open about her experiences, it seemed to me that, at times, when interviewees spoke of their own traumas and hardships, they tended to

dismiss them as no longer important. Yet, looking at the impact upon their lives, for example, in education, in economic circumstances, and in comparison with others of their generation, this was surprising.

I wondered how many had been affected psychologically by living with traumatised parents. Only a few had indicated that the effect had continued throughout their lives. Richard was upfront in telling me that he had been affected by the stress. However, it was not until later, on further contact with some interviewees, that they confided to me about the effect of their childhood traumas. This was completely understandable given that we were complete strangers before the interviews. One interviewee told me that she had a severe "nervous breakdown" which was attributed to her "toxic" mother. Another had to seek counselling due to her over-developed sense of responsibility about her family as the constant worry had made her ill.

While Rebecca's story was perhaps among the most difficult to hear, secrets and mental illness were touched upon but not in such detail by some of the interviewees. They mentioned living with parents who were hospitalised for "nervous breakdown"; parents who were suspicious of everyone, particularly those in authority; and the abuse of alcohol, and suicide in the family. As secrets were not revealed and were usually kept in-house, most people would never realise the traumatic backgrounds hidden within some of this cohort, in fact, of this generation. They were, therefore, left to deal with these challenges on their own.

Resilience, adaptability, survival and versatility

"Don't worry, no-one's shooting at you" – (Fremantle focus groups participant)

It was clear that the result of war-time trauma, and perhaps also early dislocation in Australia, had affected the family lives of many in this cohort. The different experiences of cohort members included: flight from danger; dislocation in Europe with time in DP camps; the long migration voyage to Australia. Early experiences in Australia included: isolation and lack of resources; overwhelming responsibility for some as children; and negotiating their way in families in which one or both parents were still experiencing the after-effects of war. Yet, despite the lack of resources and opportunities, people in this cohort had achieved well educationally and in their chosen careers. While I am not sure about their adult relationships with siblings and parents, most of my interviewees appeared to have close relationships with their children and within their communities, be they ethnic or Australian or both.

Surprisingly, given the experiences of some of the interviewees, members of the cohort did not seem to consider that they were extraordinary in any way. What was beginning to emerge from their interviews was the picture of a very resilient group of people, perhaps survivors, and this was something I wanted to explore further. This impression was backed up by comments made during interview as well as in following conversations. For example, Adrianne, when talking how she dealt with her husband's family, who dismissed her because of her ethnic background, said to me: "but remember, I'm strong". Danuta also referred to herself as strong when she compared herself to her mother, saying, "Polish women are strong" and believed that was why she thinks differently to most other people. Sonja too perceived herself as having strength. She told me that: "It's my circumstances that have made me strong. I used to be meek and mild but I've learned to stand up for myself".

The literature I was concurrently reviewing on resilience was based upon the assumption that most children had access to resources to build resilience, such as community networks, supportive family and friends. My cohort was lacking almost all of these resources in their earlier years. Yet, they had survived despite this. I, therefore, decided to explore the concept of resilience using focus groups.

Two focus groups were conducted on the topic of resilience. Focus groups were made up of members of the cohort who I selected and invited to participate. The ***focus group questions*** which I used as a framework for discussion were: 1. What is resilience? Is there a better word than resilience? 2. What has been your experience of resilience? Does it develop only through childhood? Does it change over time? Can it be passed on? 3. What do you expect to gain from resilience? 4. What has contributed to or detracted from your ability to be resilient?

I also had with me three definitions of resilience to prompt further discussion if required. These were definitions taken from both Wikipedia and a researcher on resilience (Zimmerman, 2000). They related to the psychological, physical and health fields. The *definitions of resilience* which I used were: "the process of bouncing back from adversity" (Zimmerman, 2000, no pagination); "the power or ability to return to the original form, position, etc., after being bent, compressed, or stretched; elasticity (Online Wikipedia); and "the ability to recover readily from illness, depression, adversity, or the like"; "buoyancy" (Online Wikipedia.), which at an appropriate time I gave them for their feedback and to see whether they thought any related to them in any way.

Fremantle Focus Group

Prior to the focus groups, I did not disclose to participants what the subject would be, not wanting them to prepare their answers. That is, if they knew what the topic was and researched it they might "fit" their experiences into the framework of resilience rather than having to think about the concept in the focus group. Moreover, I wished to observe their spontaneous reactions when I mentioned the topic, to enable me to gauge the appropriateness of the focus group theme.

The Fremantle group comprised 5 female participants and 1 male. Four had come to Australia as child migrants, and the other two were Australian born. All six lived in the Perth metropolitan area. When I introduced the theme of the focus group. I was surprised (and relieved) by the response when I mentioned the topic was on resilience. It was like a collective "Aaah" of approval or acknowledgement. The participants immediately and without prompting, engaged with the theme and began to relate *examples of their resilience*.

> Yes, I think we are a pretty resilient lot, through our experiences. As a child I can remember very strongly, discrimination. … I went to 5 different schools. So - I became resilient. I was able to mix instantly with people and change does not faze me. In fact, it's part of me. … My life's pretty crap at times, *really* crap, and hey, that's life, and you just carry on. (*Participant 1 (P1)*).

Participant 2 also spoke of discrimination early in her life and "people wrote stuff on our side fence, things like… well we were treated by the Australians around us like we were peasants". She spoke of her parents as being resilient in a "quiet" way and said that "I think I learnt to be a bit resilient. (Thought about her statement) Oh, I can't say. Resilient but weak at the same time, because it still hurts me that kind of stuff. … But I've learned to cope and keep going, for my children".

Participant 3 gave the example of his mother as to what gave him resilience.

> She said the British used to bomb you at night and the Americans during the day-time. …. She came from a wealthy family in Poland and when she came to Australia, living in tents and being treated by – it was pretty hard. And the first child died at 10 months so it was pretty hard going for them…. My mother had a stroke about 19 years ago and is still alive… she's ninety. But

> she needed a lot of motivation and I got that from her and I'd say "Don't worry Mum, you'll get better. No-one is shooting at you".

This participant then explained about being bullied at school in his early days of migration and how he had managed to overcome the bullies, though he wouldn't describe this as resilience, rather as standing up for himself. However, he believed that there was resilience, which had carried on through his life, as "my late wife suffered from clinical depression. That was a pretty tough slog, so that's what I had to say to myself: "Remember, no-one's shooting at you"".

As participants related their experiences, it seemed to me that what most were describing was not so much *developing* but *being forced* to be resilient as a reaction to discrimination. The participants who said they learned to be resilient, did so in response to challenges, such as being constantly relocated and being victimised, indicating that their resilience was built upon adaptability and survival, and learning to "cope".

Only one focus group participant (P4) said that she had not experienced any discrimination. Yet, she said, "Resilience, your choice is excellent. I think we've all got that". This participant declared that she had met a lot of life challenges but said the resilience had always been there. Another participant (P5) did not engage in the discussion on resilience at this stage and seemed unsure as to how it related to her.

As participants had been talking about dealing with bullies and discrimination, I asked whether they were saying that resilience is about developing toughness. In response to this another participant (P6) related a very traumatic incident, which she had witnessed as a child and which made her determined to be "tough". She did not mention the word resilience. She was slightly upset as she told her story, which began with going to the dentist with her (German) mother:

> And he pulled a tooth out and she bled and bled and bled and bled and bled. And the dentist turned around and, I remember he said to her words something like, "Oh, you're a" he used the word "bloody", you're a bloody foreigner. You Germans come here and look what you do, you bleed like pigs". I never forgot that and, you know, we got home and I remember … and we came home and my Mum – I *never, ever* forget – my Mum turned around

> and she said to us kids "You are here in this country now, we are going to live, you're born here, we are going to do everything right". She said, "You two must always stand up for yourselves. Don't let *anybody* put you down or say anything like that". Because even though I was young - I never ever forget that. Because it did upset me. …. And that's always stuck with me because I've always had to, in situations, stand up for myself. And I will.

What was emerging in the focus discussion was that the concept of resilience for some members of this cohort was strongly linked with their parents, who they saw as being resilient as a result of all they had endured throughout their lives. The resilience within themselves (2nd generation) was not as well acknowledged, in spite of the events which they were describing, such as discrimination and the physical and mental hardships they had experienced. Even the fact of observing the discrimination experienced by their parents, and having to deal with that, at a very young age, was not a consideration. The impression I gained was that, because of the extreme situation of their parents, they perhaps regarded their own experiences as lesser in comparison. That is, they devalued their own experiences and did not acknowledge fully the way in which they had survived negative events or adapted to the intense environments in which they grew up.

In order to stimulate focus group members to consider whether the concept of resilience was applicable to themselves, not just to their parents, I asked them, ".. "But, *resilience.* What does that mean, *that word*? If I say that word, what does that mean to *you*?"

"I think if you put it in a package it's all survival" (*P1*).

Another participant then commented that "what seems to flow through when talking about (resilience) is the non-acceptance and the "bloody New Australians" sort of thing". He pointed out how many of his friends had Anglicised their names to fit in, though his own children are not ashamed of their Polish surname, even retaining it when they married and passing it on to *their* children. I asked whether he saw this as a sign of resilience. He replied that: "It's acceptance, that our resilience resulted in people accepting us as people. We didn't run away, we stuck up".

To stimulate further thinking about the meaning of resilience, I distributed print-outs with definitions of the three different types of resilience; that is, physical,

psychological, and health. Reactions to these definitions were interesting. One participant strongly disagreed with the definition of "bouncing back from adversity".

> Bouncing back, you know, if you're looking in retrospect. But, at the time it was "klunking". There was no "boiing!" (sound of a spring bouncing) out there. It took a while for things to get established, it took a while to get some strength, to feel that you've got a foot in. So – I wouldn't call it bouncing. It was a slow process.

This participant made it clear that she was referring to her parents and relating it to their hard work establishing themselves.

Another participant then commented that "I think we just cannot accomplish things on our own". She gave as an example the way in which people had helped each other when living in the camps. "Like, if someone died there would be the whole community behind you. And that's been a wonderful lesson for me as a child, to see how people helped each other. … You realise you need people". However, she did not elaborate on how people helped each other once they had moved out of the camps and into the mainstream society.

The *factors of resilience* in this cohort varied among the group and there was some discussion as to the role of the parents as examples of resilience. The participant who had witnessed the incident of the dentist's abusive behaviour toward her mother said that she had become so tough that she was unable to ask people for help and instead looked after everybody else. Consequently, when she found she had a serious physical illness she had become depressed, due to no longer being able to continue in this protective role. Her motivation now in her life, she said, which helps to deal with this illness, was her grandchildren. She believed a positive attitude was a motivating factor of resilience.

Other factors which were felt to build resilience were: "divine intervention"; "faith in God"; family; and friends who appreciated their differences.

A participant commented:

> Getting back to this resilience you know, bouncing back. If you look at our parents and us, we haven't gone back to the original. We've adapted. All of

> us have become different. And not only have we become different, the Australian community has become different.

In the second part of the focus group, discussion centred around whether and where their individual resilience had come from. Most of the participants said that building resilience came from their parents' example. One participant stated that: "They encouraged my brother and I to make choices, and whatever choices we made they backed us up …. trust in me made me feel good that whatever I chose was okay. So that probably built (strength/resilience)".

Interestingly, the family culture was of importance to two of the female participants. They felt that they were overlooked by their parents, who favoured their brothers and that they were always under pressure to perform better, while their brothers were not. *Participant 2* told how she ran away from home when she left school, due to the pressure. She said that: "My resilience came from when I left home and did it from scratch. Without being under my parents' wing. That's when my strengths came out. And I didn't know how much strength I had, I just went".

I noticed that the word strength was used often as participants spoke of their experiences of resilience.

The question was raised by one of the participants: "Do you think resilience is inherent, or taught, or acquired?"

Responses to this varied according to people's experiences. Opinion was divided over whether it was an unconscious response to life experiences or whether it was innate. One participant gave the example of having to develop strength out of necessity due to her family culture of favouritism, "I don't think it's inherited. I think it's something out of necessity". Another, thinking of the resilience she discovered in herself when she left home, and how her parents and their European families had coped over the years thought it was innate.

The participant who had earlier been unsure of how the concept of resilience related to her, was adamant that it was not her parents that gave her strength, but her husband and children. "They (her parents) really pushed you like you're never good enough. I really had to, out of *me*, make my life better". To survive she felt she had to exclude her parents, even though she was close to them, from about the age of 10. So it was interesting to observe that, for two of the focus group members, their

parents in some way impeded their ability to be resilient. Once they freed themselves from their parents' domination, they became more resilient.

The result of being resilient was not the same for everyone. Rather than becoming compassionate, one interviewee stated it made her less so as she had to "toughen up". The sense that this cohort was comprised of people who were very independent came across as each person spoke. It was stated more than once that "I don't like to ask for help", and at least one participant was the carer for close family members. One participant was caring for her husband who was incapacitated as a Vietnamese veteran, yet she told us "I do need the support of my friends because you don't cope with something like that entirely on your own. I do NOT rely on my children… I'll not get them involved". While this was not explored in the focus group, it is possible there is a link between being independent and developing resilience.

Besides the motivational aspect, other ways in which people gained strength were through community involvement, such as support groups, sporting organisations, and religion or spirituality.

> It's my greatest strength. Not religion as religion. Belief. *And* that I'm being cared for. I've had a very rocky road and I just know that when I can't cope, I'm going to be helped (*Participant 4*).

During the discussion, the role of children and grandchildren as motivators to be resilient was raised. People spoke about teaching their children by example. One participant related how her adoptive daughter of Asian descent had experienced discrimination and how she (the daughter) had to develop the resilience to cope with that. Another told the story of her son, who had struggled through his life with a learning disability, left school early, found himself employment but then became involved in the drug scene. Many years later and after further struggle, he found stability in his life. "And if that's not resilience, I don't know what is!" (*Participant 1*)

Another participant added that:

> I think, with the resilience, just listening to people. A lot of it is, you know, you get thrown in and you've got to swim. And if you don't swim you drown. And the people that don't drown are resilient.

"Some paddle, some struggle so they don't go under" (P1).

Synopsis:

In the focus group it seemed the main point of reference for the cohort was their family, particularly their parents. There was a residual hurt and anger which some participants still felt as to the treatment of their parents when they had first arrived in Australia coupled with a sense that the hardships that they and the 2nd generation, had endured, were still not acknowledged. Therefore, they seemed to base their understanding of resilience on both how their parents had managed their situation, as well as in their response within the family culture and as a member of a marginalised group.

Bunbury focus group

The second focus group took place in Bunbury and comprised 3 participants, 2 female, one male, all child migrants. The focus group took place in Bunbury library and was scheduled for 1-2 hours. The same procedure was used as for the Fremantle group though, given the smaller number of participants, was less formally structured. For this group, there was no assistant moderator.

I began the session by asking what the participants thought resilience meant, and whether they saw it as an appropriate term in regard to themselves. *Participant 1* said: "Well, I think there must be a stronger word than resilience myself" but could not think of another word instead. She asked, on the assumption that the others had gone through similar experiences as herself, whether anyone else could.

Participant 2 then gave an example of how traumatic experiences as a child affected her throughout her life, though she did not realise this till later. She went on to add:

> But I think those experiences are … and travelling from one country to another. Learning a new language, making new friends, it keeps you full of strength, doesn't it. I feel... I feel a very strong sort of, I don't know, will-power or something about myself.

The other participant agreed but was not sure about the word resilient. "I don't know, I'm trying to get my head around the word resilience to be honest with you. I would say versatility or something like that, you know".

His reason for saying versatility was a better fit was that:

> when you're young and you think about all your experiences and stuff, you were oblivious to all the hardships and all the rest of this stuff that our parents

went through. But later in life, like when I sort of look back on life, and the upbringing and all the rest of the stuff, I suppose hidden in there (versatility), ok, and it's a latent thing, it's dormant, and you go to do something and then you think to yourself," "My father would have done this, or my mother would have done exactly the same thing" and it's that thing in your background that says "I was taught this way" or "I was taught that way".

Another participant outlined the efforts her parents had made to settle into the country town where she grew up and believed that what her parents had was "sheer determination" to succeed. Interestingly, as with the Fremantle focus group participants, she did not relate this to herself.

The first participant then clarified what resilience meant to her:

> But resilience, the word resilience also there's a connotation of springing back from something, isn't there? Like, you hit the wall, you're down and out, or you're poor or whatever and you've been down but you're resilient, you come back. I liken it to a boxing ring, going against the ropes, you spring back. That's what resilience means to me.

There was some discussion of whether resilience applied only to the parents, with participant 3 agreeing with that opinion as he saw his parents' lives as a constant struggle. I wondered, because of the effect his parents' struggles and versatility, whether this had helped when he had to be resilient in life. Another participant (Participant 2) answered:

> It's true. When you find yourself in a sticky situation you do have to get out of it and, I think because my parents didn't have any backup, one of the things that I didn't know how to do was ask for help …. I had to get nutted out myself. I think in that respect, resilience does apply. You find the resources to keep going, wherever you can find them.

She then added:

> It was a good background but in a way sad because I didn't have anybody I could go to and say "I'm in trouble, help, help". I had to sort of fight my own battles and do my own thing. And in some ways I think it was damaging too because (pause) you, yeah, I don't really know how to say it but I wasn't able to help my kids as much as I wanted to because I didn't really know how.

The interesting issue with this participant is that she had always been the main support for her parents, as her mother had suffered from chronic illness for most of her life. Also, she was expressing the same inability to ask for help as had been brought up is the Fremantle focus group.

As there was not total agreement on the word resilience itself, even though they generally agreed with the definitions, I wished to settle on a term that they all felt comfortable with. Those which had been used in the discussion to describe themselves and how they coped with adversity were: adaptability; strength; will-power; and versatility. They all agreed upon "versatility" though I was doubtful as to whether this was the right word as it seemed to relate more to the ability to carry out tasks than to psychologically adapt.

Talking about what aspects promoted versatility, or gave them strength, religion or religious belief was one factor for two of the participants; parents were another, as well as teachers and especially the migrant community. One participant also mentioned that the Catholic Church was supportive of the entire community, not just the migrants, through holding community events, such as dances.

Participant 1 believed that her parents had taught her versatility, even at a subtle level. The male participant agreed:

> Yeah, yeah, you know, sometimes you sort of think to yourself "I've got to do this, and you put it off and you put it off, then you think to yourself "no, I've got to bite the bullet here and do it". And then you say within, is it something in me? I think whatever we do is taught, just about everything.

To me, this seemed more an example of determination than versatility, combined with self-doubt.

The group talked briefly about how they had passed on their versatility to their children. They each had different ways of doing this; through teaching them to

manage within what they had; encouraging independence; and letting them know "Yes, it can be done".

Synopsis

Even though the Bunbury focus group agreed upon the word versatility to describe the way they handled adversity, other words they used were adaptability, strength and, occasionally, resilience. The parental example was frequently spoken of regarding how they coped with difficulties. Yet they did not give examples of how they did this for themselves, in spite of saying that they *had* managed or overcome difficult situations on their own.

In both groups, a commonly used word in regard to resilience was "strength" and, in the Fremantle group, "survival". What did stand out in both groups was that participants spoke of not being able to ask for help. As their parents had never had "back-up" as one participant stated, it would appear that they, the 2nd generation had never learned to access help when they needed it, or they may have been too proud/independent to ask. Yet, as they had often spoken of the way in which the 1st generation DPs assisted each other and built community, perhaps it was my interviewees themselves who had never had any backup, so had to develop the toughness and independence which they spoke of in the focus groups.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the research cohort, followed by the results of their interviews and focus groups. Migration experiences began, for some, in Europe or Africa and these, plus their voyage to Australia and early migration experiences were discussed, as well as early memories of the whole cohort. Education and employment outcomes; retention of language, culture and traditions, and the different types of family dynamics were then analysed.

The next chapter, the Discussion, looks at the implications of the above results and the long-term effects on this cohort.

Chapter 5 Discussion

This chapter discusses the outcome and implications of the results of interviews and focus groups with the cohort. I present these results under the areas of social capital; cultural capital; economic capital; and resilience, which were important influences for these 2nd generation DPS. These concepts have already been discussed in the literature review section on *forms of capital* (p.65). How these affected, or are affecting, the cohort is then discussed in the theoretical contexts of Parallel Lives and the Circle of Protection. The overall conclusions drawn from the results and analysis of this study follow in Chapter 6.

Social capital

It was evident from interviews with this cohort, that many within the cohort were deficient in resources from early on in life, specifically social, economic, and cultural capital. The first two are as a result of being a 2nd generation DP, that is from refugee families; the third is due to a combination of discrimination against DP families and pressure to assimilate, which led to the loss of their innate cultural (familial or ethnic) capital.

In Australia, access to social capital was circumscribed by the 1st generation's absence of links within the wider networks of the mainstream community and other organisations. For both 1st and 2nd generation DPs there were no pre-existing family, friendships, or networks in Australia. Their families were either still in Europe, no longer existed, were behind the Iron Curtain, or had migrated to other parts of the world. Without family support, the DPs had to form a strong community among their fellow migrants, despite people constantly entering and leaving the more remote ethnic communities during early migration as work contracts began and ended. In reality, the more remote communities may have consisted of only a few families or, in even more remote areas, male work gangs.

The lack of language skills in the 1st generation limited communication or friendship between the host and DP/European migrant communities, especially in the early years of migration. Even though attempts were made by both DPs and the Australians with whom they had contact, for example, farmers and shop-keepers, to overcome this, there was little language support offered to migrant families apart from a 3 week course at the Northam reception centres. This meant that the 2nd

generation in this cohort were unable to, through their parents, gain access to resources from or form networks in the host community, especially social networks.

Coleman (1988, 1990) states that there are *three forms of social capital*: obligations and expectations; information channels; and social norms. The obligations and expectations were something of which the second generation became aware from observing social and supportive interactions within the DP/migrant communities. Moreover, being survivors from the recent war, the DPs understood how to make use of scarce resources and this was also noted and absorbed by my cohort. That this was a community not necessarily of choice, but one that had to pull together for mutual survival possibly gave it strength. It is difficult to ascertain whether the community cohesion was ethno-specific, though it is doubtful, given that there appeared to be a mixture of nationalities as some of the interviewees have described. Within some DP communities were also voluntary, unassisted migrants, such as the Italian and Greek migrants who arrived slightly later than the DPs but took on some of the same work (Peters, 2001).

Sylvia and Jenifer were just two of the interviewees who spoke of community events, parties, music and dancing and the hospitality of the migrant and DP community that took place in their homes and around them. The way in which the DPs and other European migrants pulled together to assist one another became part of the way in which the 2nd generation perceived community. In fact, one could say it has almost become part of the family legend for 2nd generation DPs and other migrants. This was also a common story among the post-WWII DPs and migrants to Australia that Peters (2001) interviewed for her book *Milk and Honey but no Gold*.

Like many other migrant children, the 2nd generation in this cohort belonged to two communities as they were growing up. In their early years, they were immersed in the migrant community of their parents. These migrant communities had a strong influence upon their personal and social development. Many of the interviewees referred to the social capital that they and their families gained from the DP community, mainly in the form of social, and, later, cultural events.

By assisting one another, however, there was indeed the expectation among members of the DP community that this assistance would be reciprocated either in kind or some other way (Bourdieu, 1997). Even as a teenager, Regina, a research participant, had already imbued the notion of reciprocity. She explained that her father had helped other DPs in his community with building their homes, and so expected that

their family would also receive assistance when they built their own home. Yet, because Regina's family moved away from the community to the metropolitan area and it was difficult for community members, still living in the country, to travel to the outer suburban block where her father was building the family home, this assistance was not forthcoming. This meant they missed out on the reciprocity which would have assisted the whole family – this also weakened the ties of friendship.

The 2nd generation gained very little social capital beyond the DP community or their parents. Firstly, being isolated either geographically or socially, or both, DPs had no initial access to the social, economic, or cultural capital of the wider Australian community which would have assisted them in building networks more easily. Therefore, the 2nd generation could not tap into an existing network, and had to build its own individual networks, concurrently with the 1st generation. They were, however, two *separate* networks which formed. Secondly, due to the constant movement of families to different locations, especially during their first two years, there was no continuity of community, meaning that the supply of social capital was not constant, though generally it appears to have been quite strong in some communities. Also, the main sources of social capital did not usually extend beyond the DP networks as the early years were focused upon survival in their new environment. Therefore, by being restricted to communities in continuous flux, there was no opportunity for the 2nd generation to inherit any accrued social capital.

The influence of community social capital came through strongly in the interviews with my cohort. Being isolated within the broader society in their early years, the 2nd generation grew up within a migrant community who assumed the roles that normally a family member would take. Migrant family friends became their godparents at First Communion; instead of staying with grandparents, uncles, aunts, and mixing with their cousins in their school holidays, they stayed with other DP families. Yet in spite of having "surrogate" family in the DP community, many of my interviewees told how, as children, their desire was to have extended family here in Australia. The amount of assistance DP families could give each other, once they had completed their two year contracts and were in more permanent locations, was limited as, in most DP families, both parents were working to become established. There was very little time to devote to either their families or other members of their community, in the way of childcare for example.

Yet, most of the social capital which came to my interviewees through the migrant community they received second-hand through their parents, and they were still denied the networks into the dominant society. Apart from their geographical and social isolation of the first few years, inbuilt discrimination as part of the immigration agreements which disadvantaged DP families, and the English language difficulty of the 1st and 2nd generations played a large part in this.

When talking about the discrimination against DPs, there are a number of things worth considering. Firstly, the Australian Government had made no secret of the fact that they wanted the DPs for labour, and this was understood by those who migrated here. However, Australian Immigration propaganda put out in DP camps in Europe gave a false impression to DPs and migrants alike, who were persuaded that they were going to be living in a "land of milk and honey" (Peters, 2001). As "push-pull-plunge" migrants (Kunz, 1973) it never seemed to occur to them to ask, "Is this too good to be true?"

The Australian government also wanted the DPs' children, those already born and those yet to be born, to build population for defence and future workforce. One has to ask, "If there had been no "yellow peril" paranoia in Australia, would the DPs have been considered as permanent settlers, or would they have been contracted to work under a "Gastearbeiter" scheme, as in Europe?" If the latter, then this would have placed the 2nd generation in a no-man's-land situation, as occurred in Germany with the 2nd generation of Turkish "*Gastearbeiter*" [89] (Grasmuck & Hinze, 2016). Nevertheless, and fortunately for the 2nd generation, the Australian government was obligated, as a member of the IRO, to take refugee settlers and they were desperate for permanent settlers for the above mentioned reasons (Collins, 1998; Lack & Templeton, 1995).

Secondly, the way in which the DP scheme was presented to the Australian public by Immigration was quite different to how it was presented to the DPs in Europe, and possibly also Africa. For example, the DPs/migrants were given glowing predictions of their new lives in Australia. In Australia, problems with the Australian Unions, who were protective of their members' jobs, caused the government to represent the

[89] Germany took on many workers from Turkey, following WWII. These workers were on working visas and had no political status. Their German-born children came to look upon themselves as German. In When the worker program was ceased in late 1970s, citizenship rights for the German-born became a controversial issue, eventuating in 1990 in the *Ausländergetz* which allowed both generations citizenship (Grasmuck & Hinze, 2016, p.5).

DPs as a potential manual labour and domestic work force, and guaranteed that Australian workers would "not be used to displace Australian workers" (Markus, 1984, cited in Collins, 1991, p.23).

It was clear in interviews that interviewees were well aware that their parents' main value as migrants to Australia was to serve as human capital for their employers, who were mainly Australian Government agencies. As already noted, they were not impressed with the type of work their parents were offered, and understood why their parents came to view education as so important.

Thirdly, the arrival of thousands of DPs, with their children, would have been threatening to local Australians who would have felt "invaded". This is, perhaps, another reason, besides the housing shortage, why Bonegilla, Northam, and other reception centres were so far from the metropolitan area. Though anger and resentment *were* present, as already described in interviews, with workers being threatened and even interviewees being bullied.

While their parents were building their own social capital within DP communities, the 2nd generation did not get any personal benefits from the rapidly built community social capital for their first few years, as it was still evolving and not inherent. Moreover, the capital accumulated within the group remained with the members and was in the form of exchange of services. The main beneficiaries of this social capital, apart from 1st generation DPs and other European migrants, seemed to have been the Catholic church, as the Polish community were strong Catholics and prepared to assist the priests and nuns either through labour or financially. For example, Bernard told me that his father had helped build the Catholic Church in Northam. The work that the DPs and migrants did for the Church was voluntary and therefore unpaid, though there may have been some reciprocity involved[90].

I was interested to find that, even at the time of interview, those interviewees who had experienced a positive type of community capital still maintained contact with the elderly 1st generation DPs, who they continued to visit out of respect. Additionally, the majority of interviewees had extensive involvement in their local (mainstream) and ethnic communities. For example, Paul coached a Polish club football team while Adrienne was heavily involved in community work for her Polish Club, doing research and assisting with an Aged Care program. Others, such

[90] For example, our family was one of a few who would receive milk and cream from the nuns at St Aloysius convent when there was a surplus. The convent had its own milking cows.

as Michael and Helena continued their links with the Polish community in Perth and were actively promoting Polish culture and history in Western Australia. Helena was assisting other Polish 2nd generation people who are looking for their families in Poland or Eastern Europe. Michael and Walter assisted in membership activities in their local sporting clubs and Sophie was involved in an environmental group.

This cohort relied upon the friendships and social capital of their parents at least until they went to school where they were then obliged to build their own networks. While most of the interviewees who had been born in Australia, or more usually younger siblings, said they settled into school quite quickly, others admitted that their school initiation had been difficult and that they had felt very isolated. As they settled into the Australian community and made friends at school and through sporting associations, they began to blend into the Australian society and became, apart from their names, virtually un-noticeable as being different. That is, they "fitted in".

The contacts made by the 2nd generation and their growing knowledge of the language and culture of Australian society then had the potential for the 2nd generation to become a source of social capital to the family in the form of community networks through the school and their friendships in the community (Ravanera & Rajulton, 2010). However, parents were not always able to take advantage of this due to, as in my own cohort, both parents working long or unsociable hours. Additionally, some interviewees stated that their parents did not encourage them to bring their Australian friends home. It appeared that this might have worked both ways, with one interviewee relating the cold reception from her Australian school-friend's grandmother when she visited their home, as an example of how difficult it was to be accepted into Australian society (Elka).

Portes (2000), points out that the rewards of social capital can be related to things such as status in the community. The DP families in Australia had little status in the wider community but there was, apparently, significant rivalry between families and ethnic groups. For example, two of my interviewees described a division in the Polish community based on being "pure" or "not pure" Poles. Furthermore, between some DP families, the children became the conveyors of status as many parents wanted their child to be the highest academically achieving student in the class, despite all of the obstacles they faced. To have the highest achieving child in the DP community conferred status upon the parents, and at least two of my interviewees

told how some of their friends, and they themselves, would be physically punished for not coming top of their class (Richard, Walter).

This competitiveness in some parts of the DP community was perhaps one of the negative outcomes of restricted social capital which includes: exclusion of outsiders; excess claims on group members; restrictions on individual freedoms; and downward levelling norms (Portes, & Landolt, 2000, p.532).

For the DP community the *exclusion of outsiders*, was not intentional, rather they were the group that were considered as outsiders by the Australian community and excluded in spite of efforts to fit in - and this included their children. This may be why the competition between some families was so intense, as they craved some status. That *excess claims* were made on group members was true in that each member of the DP community was expected to assist others, as was related by Regina. However, these excess claims extended to the 2nd generation, who were given excessive amounts of responsibility in the family, as well as having to meet high expectations. These excess claims on the 2nd generation did not seem to occur if the parents themselves were not firmly entrenched in the community. For example, Jessica's parents made a concerted effort to assimilate into the Australian culture, even going so far as to speak only English in the home. They did not exert pressure on her to excel academically, in fact, the reverse.

It should be acknowledged, that this could also have been a gender issue in some families, where female education was not considered as important as for the male members. At least two interviewees complained that they were treated, by their parents, as being inferior to their brothers. Winter (2000) pointed out that family is idealised as the core of social capital but that in previous literature about family social capital, family dynamics, including such influences as gender roles, were not taken into account. In this case I think it is important to look at the gender roles as it came through strongly in interviews about education and employment that female 2nd generation were not always allocated the same resources as their male siblings, and in fact, were the ones who had to leave school to support the family finances or to progress their brothers' education, whether they chose to do so or not.

Regarding the *restriction on individual freedoms*, this varied within the cohort ranging from extreme strictness for Danuta and Julia and the need to behave within the "rules" of the Polish community, harsh discipline for Richard, and relative freedom for others, such as Jessica.

The *downward levelling norms* that Portes& Landolt (2000) refer to are the expectations by an ethnic group that other members of the group will not move outside their social or occupational norms, for example, professions or businesses particular to certain ethnic enclaves. However, in my cohort there were, rather than downward levelling norms, there were unrealistic expectations of the 2nd generation as just discussed, especially in regard to educational achievement. The 1st generation had been placed in the situation where they were employed in low-level labour-intensive work and they did not want their children to be subject to the same conditions that they had endured, and were still enduring, as they built their homes and their families. Paradoxically, the pressure, or excess claims, on the 2nd generation to perform academically which was a negative effect of low social and economic capital within a community, could also be seen as a positive effect as it pushed the 2nd generation to build social capital outside the home, and cultural capital through education, despite the stress this caused in the family.

Bourdieu's (1997) states that social capital, if confined to particular ethnic groups or communities for example, can restrict rather than expand networks for its members. This could apply to the 1st generation DPs as, according to the interviewees, many of the Polish/Polish families tended to live and work in the same location and mix only with each other. It does not, however, appear to be the case that the 2nd generation secluded themselves within the DP community and away from the Australian society; rather, as they began to assimilate, they tended to exclude themselves from the *core family* because of the stigma of being associated with difference.

Effect of low social capital

As already stated, the DP community was supportive of each other, even though the 2nd generation was not able to utilise the same type of social capital as their parents and other community members. Their access was in the form of ethnic community identity and belonging, though less obviously so once they began to assimilate. The forms of social capital which operated within the communities were generally based upon basic needs, such as labour to assist in building homes, bartering goods and services, none of which benefited the 2nd generation directly. The point is that in the DP community, social capital was relatively high. Outside the community, it was the opposite and this is where the 2nd generation needed assistance.

Lack of access to services such as childcare, either by family, church or local community meant that the 2nd generation generally had the responsibility for looking after younger siblings; lack of access to medical facilities and mental health services also affected this cohort. For example, according to Elka, a combination of factors for her father, such as post-traumatic stress, together with the growing distrust he felt toward her mother due to prolonged separation from his wife and children shortly after migrating, and a significant financial setback, were responsible for her father having a schizophrenic episode when she was present and having to protect her mother from a life-threatening attack and flee the family home. It is apparent that, for her family and father especially, having little social capital in either the DP community or Australian society, there was no access to the resources required to avert this situation.

The negative effect on the 2nd generation migrant due to restricted social capital which was clear in this research was also noted by van Ravenstein (2010) in his autobiographical publication about his Dutch migrant family. In his description of how family functioned in a situation where there is limited social capital in the form of extended family or existing community, he states:

> The migrant is emancipated from public opinion…As migrants my family failed to recognise any moral community. ... My parents were free to shape my life entirely according to their whims and perceived interests without consideration of the mores of a larger community (p.71).

That is, the 2nd generation had no control over their lives in some situations as there were no other family members or people outside the nuclear family who could exert a more moderating effect, particularly when there were parenting problems due to traumatised parents.

The findings of this study in regard to social capital are that:

- Members of this cohort had limited social capital as they were growing up;
- The basic concepts of community social capital, such as reciprocity and mutual beneficence were absorbed from being within the DP/migrant community;
- As a marginalised community, first generation DPs were not able to provide the second generation with social capital outside the community; that is, in

the Australian community, and within the DP community this capital was mainly based upon reciprocity of labour or goods and services and not directly beneficial to the second generation;

- As a result of the lack of capital outside the migrant community, the second generation had to source and build their own social capital within the Australian community, which, over time tended to separate them socially and culturally from their parents and the ethnic community.

Cultural capital

Another important type of capital is cultural capital, which was referred to in the literature review as being both embedded and learned. Cultural capital can exist in: the *embodied* state, that is, it comes from within the person; it can come in the form of *cultural goods*, such as cultural objects; or it can come in the form of *education* (Bourdieu, 1997, p.47). As my interviewees came from refugee families who had either fled their homes or been captured and taken to Germany or Russia as labourers, there was no capital in the form of cultural goods such as art objects or family heirlooms for them to inherit, and the cultural knowledge they received was limited to how much their parents wished to reveal or even knew themselves. Additionally, it could also have been that cultural knowledge was mainly kept within the migrant community as, due to the assimilation policy, it was devalued in their new country.

In some ways, it appeared that, for my interviewees who spent some years in remote locations without services provided, this was the basis of learning how to adapt to their environment. Was this a form of embodied capital? Following the example described of the ingenuity and resourcefulness of their parents and friends in the community, they also related tales of their own resourcefulness, for example, building cubbies, buying a motor vehicle and fuel while still barely teenagers with money they had saved. This indicates that they were learning to build upon the scarce resources available to them from a very young age. So perhaps this became a type of embedded cultural capital in the form of resourcefulness.

This is not to say that the members of this cohort had no ethnic cultural exposure at all, just that it was limited and, for many, died out as they began to blend in more with their Australian peers. The interviewees who had immersion in their parental and community culture were exposed to the cultural capital of these. Polish Clubs in

Perth and Northam became important centres of the Polish and migrant community. Most of the interviewees who grew up in the metropolitan area or in Northam had attended Polish language and culture lessons through the Polish club and church. Generally, the Polish language lessons were short-lived as they took place on a Saturday morning when most children just wanted to have time off to play with their friends. Often too, with greater exposure to the Australian culture the interviewees in this cohort began to assimilate, and their inherited ethnic culture with its traditions and language began to decline. At this time, the interviewees were assimilating, to the point where they could not be distinguished from their Australian peers. As Katie said, "We all wanted to be Aussies". It was not till later in their lives, as the concepts of "integration" then multiculturalism emerged, that it became easier to acknowledge their differences and blend their ethnic and "Australian" lives.

The degree of out-marriage (inter-marriage) to Australian and English-born Australians was outstanding, with only one interviewee marrying within the same or similar ethnicity. However, it was clear that, apart from a handful of interviewees, marriage to English-speaking only spouses was a deciding factor in the loss of ethnic language and often culture in the 2nd generation. Castles et al (1998) describe intermarriage as: "marriage that crosses boundaries according to birthplace, religion, race and/or ethnicity" (p.35). It is true that intermarriage in this cohort not only affected the culture and language maintenance in the 2nd generation DPs but also, in some cases, their religious practices, as many married into families of different religions. In most cases, Australian husbands did not have any attachment to their own background religion but neither did they appear to participate in the religion of my interviewees.

Penny and Khoo (1996, cited in Castles et al, 1998, p34) carried out a study on intermarriage in Australia, using both Census and marriage certificates and case studies of 1st generation migrants. They found that the reason why these immigrants married out of their community were related to either wanting to become part of Australian society, or wanting to distance themselves from aspects of their own culture. On the other hand, their Australian-born spouses were attracted by the exotic and what they perceived as more interesting culture, some wishing to reject their own Australian culture. I have seen instances of this in regard to some cultures, which are regarded by Australians as more interesting, for example, Italian, Greek and French. However, the reality was that becoming and being an Australian was the desire of

nearly all of my interviewees, and 2nd generation migrants in general, at that time. That is, Australians and their culture were something to be aspired to.

Giorgias and Jones (2002) also researched intermarriage among 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants and found they had a similar pattern to that shown by Penny and Khoo (1996) with Price (1993, 1994) finding that out-marriage, that is, marriage out of the ethnic group, was up to three-quarters of marriages[91], which is still less than in this cohort. The high rate of intermarriage was believed to be due to the fact that the 2nd generation now spoke the same language, had social interaction and had become part of the Australian culture; that is, they had assimilated (Price, 1993, 1994). The size of the ethnic group and the amount of exposure outside the group were other factors determining the degree of out-(inter)marriage. Certainly, most of my interviewees had more exposure to Australians than other 2nd generation of their own ethnicities as they settled into high school and starting dating, also once they left school and found employment. Unlike their parents, who were mainly in employment which was predominantly peopled by other migrants and DPs, they had higher status positions among mainstream Australians. Additionally, it was very emphatically stated to me by a few interviewees that they found members of the opposite sex in their own ethnic group to be unattractive, though they denied that they were looking for an Australian partner.

By the 3rd generation, in most families, the issue of assimilation was no longer pertinent as most interviewees and their children had integrated well as Australians, or ethnic-Australians. Even traditions and special foods associated with religious festivals, apart from Adrianne, whose children had kept these going, had "fallen by the way-side" as one interviewee said. There was, however, some regret expressed by interviewees about the loss of language and family history, or heritage, and the "pilgrimages" to Europe and the search for family in Poland demonstrate this as a wish to reconnect with their family and heritage.

Attempts to pass on the ethnic language to the 3rd generation met with little success, mainly due to the out-marriage as well as the declining use of the ethnic language once the 1st generation passed on. For the 3rd generation then, apart from contact with grandparents, it seems that in nearly all cases in this cohort, there was no ethnic language or culture apart from the modified Christmas and Easter traditions to pass

[91] Giorgas and Jones (2002) study only included Australian born second generation non-Anglo migrants who had married in Australia and were still in their first marriage.

on. One interviewee was teaching his grandchildren to speak Polish, though it may be that they will only ever learn to speak a limited amount of the language. This may depend upon the exposure to family living in Poland and whether there are opportunities for the third generation in Australia to have this exposure.

The amount of cultural capital which my interviewees could access through *education* was linked to both the amount of social capital and economic capital that their parents possessed. Much of the literature on 2nd generation migrant children and social capital related to education (cultural capital), linking the amount of family capital spent on assisting children with their education with the social capital available to the children and family in the community (Adedoku & Balschweid, 2008; Marjoribanks, 1998; Portes, 2000; Portes & MacLeod, 1999). In some ways this was a vicious cycle, as education was important in building or obtaining social capital, which in turn meant that economic capital had to be available to provide that education, plus social capital to provide support in obtaining both.

Education was something which could not be passed on to this cohort as cultural capital due to: their parents' struggles to learn such a foreign language, in spite of the fact that most could already speak 2 or more other languages; inability of the education system to cater for non-English speakers; and the difference in teaching methods in the Australian and European education systems. Though my interviewees' parents were often prepared to spend money on education, this was more to do with the individual families, rather than any network. Additionally, it was the males, not females, who were favoured in the promotion of education, as a few of the females in the cohort pointed out. Apart from the Roman Catholic nuns who encouraged students to apply for scholarships or public service employment, and individual teachers who made extra efforts to assist a few of my cohort, none of my interviewees spoke of any assistance from either the DP community or the Australian community to help them with their education or gain employment in order to progress in the Australian society. Except for Danuta, whose mother was proactive in helping her daughters apply for employment in teaching and nursing, they had to find their own way.

While education was an important aspect of migrant family culture the reality was that in most cases it could not be supported within the family. Parents, due to work commitments and lack of communication skills, generally had little involvement in their children's education. Conversely, parental non-involvement was also a relief for

the children who were often embarrassed by their parents' lack of English, and did not want them to go to the school. Unfortunately, for some interviewees, the chasm between teachers and parents meant that parents did not have the opportunity to understand the educational system of their children, though some, such as Richard's father believed that getting good results was the teachers' responsibility. The deficiency in family social capital through outside networks, therefore, also proscribed the attainment of cultural capital as, for some of the cohort, opportunities in education, such as scholarships and advanced education were either limited or not accessed due to parental (and student) ignorance of the educational and scholarship system. Constantly moving during the early years of education would also have been disadvantageous for some, especially if they changed between Catholic and State-run schools, which had different curricula[92].

Language could have been a source of cultural capital for my interviewees had they not grown up during the period of assimilation in Australia. The push for DPs and later migrants to fit into the Australia culture was extreme and, for some migrants, impossible to achieve. Language was the main area in which pressure was exerted on parents and children who were expected to speak only English, any other language being frowned upon when spoken. Children were exposed to English language at school and in the Australian community but generally with the ethnic language being spoken at home, at least by their parents. The pressure to conform was such that many children, such as myself and my siblings refused to speak any language but English, even at home. Portes (2004) in his comparative study on 2,843 8th and 9th grade US born 2nd generation found that ethnic language was retained by particular ethnic groups, being stronger within ethnic enclaves but decreasing over time. However, the situation with the DP children differed as there was no continuity of contact with Polish or German enclaves outside the DP and migrant communities and, outside those communities, non-English languages were discouraged. The loss of language of origin was therefore rapid, occurring over only one generation. Additionally, there was intense pressure for "New Australian" families to become

[92] This was my experience when going from a Catholic "arts-based system" where I was taught music and French–there being no German or Polish lessons available – as well as typing and higher mathematics, to a different system of education at Northam Senior High school. This caused a problem as to which class I was to go into as I had a mixture of "high" and "low" subjects which did not fit into the Northam structure. Then, I had to learn a different type of mathematics from what I was familiar with, and floundered because I had no background or support in catching up. Like one of my interviewees, I had to ask my friend for help and struggle through.

naturalised as soon as possible (Kunz, 1988). None of the cohort mentioned that they were aware of this pressure except for the two males who had to become naturalised to be eligible to join the Armed Services. Ironically, there is still overt pressure on migrants and refugees, especially those who are visibly different in race and dress, to conform to the Australian "way of life", with Australia Day bringing forth many banners aimed at these people telling them to "love it or leave it"[93]. Additionally, the "Go back to where you came from" slogan which appears in any racially tense situation in Australia was often heard in the 1950s. Therefore, the dislike of different languages, race, cultures, and outward appearance which do not conform to the perception of "Australian" culture is still prevalent among certain groups.

The 2nd generation, coming from a non-English speaking background, had some difficulties when they first commenced their education though generally they quickly learned to communicate in English (R. Johnston, 1972a). Child Migrant Education did not exist until the 1970s, during the period of integration[94]. Also in this period, a major review of migrant services was undertaken with the result that the Galbally Report (1979) recommended better services for migrants, including assistance with language and respect for ethnic culture. This was when English as a second language (ESL) was introduced into schools (Castles et al, 1998, Collins, 1991). By this time, however, post-WWII 2nd generation migrants, including DPs, were already at high school level or beyond, or in the workforce.

When my cohort began school they were in a situation of having teachers who were not trained to deal with children from other ethnicities and cultures. Coupled with teacher inexperience in teaching children from diverse cultures and with various levels of English, in often overcrowded classrooms, these children found difficulty in maintaining their education (Castles et al, 1998, p99). Additionally, there were often many migrant children in the classroom, so they were not able to attract the extra

[93] In 2012, Australian academic, Professor Farida Fozdar, caused a national outcry due to the outcomes of her research which linked Australian flags on cars for Australia Day with racism and feelings of nationalism. This also links to my statement above as often the same cars proudly displayed racist banners (See following link for further discussion on this). http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-01-24/aussie-flag-bearers-more-racist3a-survey/3790172
However, Fozdar also stated that there had been a decline in flag display since 2006. Whether the Cronulla Riots at Cronulla beach in Sydney had an influence upon this decline was not discussed. These riots were racially driven, aimed at young men of Lebanese appearance, though it seems there was previous conflict between Lebanese and Anglo-Australian groups. The riot shocked Australians by its violence, which was recorded by media and the overt racism displayed. Australian flags were draped around the shoulders of members of the Anglo-Australian mob.

[94]

attention they needed to commence their education. Some of my interviewees told me of the difficulties they experienced in high school because their language level was not advanced enough for the higher level of schooling.

Yet, those that retained their ethnic language were able to convert this cultural capital into economic and social capital. For example, Regina was employed by a community organisation because of her Polish language skills and her knowledge of ethnic cultures. Other interviewees, when they travelled were able to use their German and Polish languages to find employment and also to delve into their family culture, something which those who did not retain the language were unable to do. Another interviewee became a German language teacher. Some interviewees did want to retain their languages as they saw it as part of their culture, their identity. However, they were under pressure from Australian spouses to *not* teach their children any language but English, due to the still prevailing belief that bilingualism was detrimental to education. Apart from creating some tension within the households it also deprived the third generation of a rich source of cultural capital. That is, "fluent bilingualism is an intellectual and cultural resource" (Portes 2004, p.659).

Summary:

- Coming from homes where there was no transferrable or embedded cultural capital, the only means of building cultural capital available to my cohort was through education;
- Members of this cohort had either limited or no support in building their cultural capital through education due to their parents' lack of social and economic capital, communication difficulties due to language, and an unsympathetic education system;
- Retention of the family ethnic language in the second generation, which could have been a rich source of cultural capital was discouraged due to the assimilation policy, in combination with out-marriage to English-speaking only spouses;
- Interviewees who retained their ethnic languages were able to use them to advantage in employment, career, and travel, which was a good outcome in building and maintaining cultural capital.

- Communicating became difficult within families where children spoke only English and parents spoke only their native tongue. Speaking more than one language but at a basic level with each other, tended to limit the type of communication between first and second generations as well as the depth of verbal interaction. This situation worsened with the third generation, severely limiting the type of interaction between grandparents and grandchildren. Therefore, cultural capital as stories and knowledge, could not be passed on to the 3rd generation.

Economic capital

As with social capital, economic capital was something which the DP families did not have when they arrived in Australia. Being virtually penniless, they used their human capital (labour) to accumulate some economic capital. However, this had to be used to fund basic living expenses and set up homes. During the early period of their lives, almost all of my interviewees were aware of the hardships of their parents and the scarcity of economic resources, making education a privilege rather than a right for some.

The lack of economic resources also meant that, within the family, funds were prioritised. Mainly the females told of how they had to leave school to assist with family finances. While not all had to do so there was a general acknowledgement among the cohort of the sacrifices their parents made so that they could afford to pay for their (2nd generations) education. This led to a feeling of guilt and extra pressure to do well in their studies and reluctance to ask for anything that would be considered as an extra. For example, a Bunbury focus group interviewee said how he would dearly have loved to have a school jumper but that all his (migrant) friends were “in the same boat”. Quite possibly this situation was something which led to some exclusion for some of my interviewees within their peer groups at school.

At least two of the males who did not achieve as highly in their final exams as they had hoped, completed their education as mature age students at night school. Others decided not to continue to senior high school because their parents could not afford the fees and they either did not think they would get scholarships or they did not know how to apply.

The lack of economic resources also affected the social capital of my interviewees. A few told how they could not afford to attend school outings or other events. This lack

of resources therefore, ostracised them from some of their school friends. Julia felt like an outsider for most of her school life until, ironically, she attended a public high school and found she was in a class of 2nd generation Italian students, which she loved. She felt that Italians and Polish were similar in many ways, so this was why she related to them. However, she said that growing her self-esteem "wasn't what is should be" due to the clothing that she had to wear. In order to economise, Julia's mother dressed her in outdated and "daggy" clothing. Additionally, she wore the hand-me-downs from her three older sisters. So, not only was Julia disadvantaged from her family lack of economic resources but it would appear that this also affected her confidence, possibly restricting her social networks and thus access to building wider social capital.

The deficiency of economic resources in the DP families was apparently not really noticed by the wider community. Bernard told me that the Australian were jealous of the rapidity with which the DPs had built their homes, without seeming aware of the hard work and long hours that had been spent in doing so. Walter's wife pointed out that, until she had met Walter, she was not aware of how difficult life in a DP family had been. She described him as "a self-made man" and contrasted her own life with his, saying that while she took for granted things like having a telephone, going on holiday, outings to the theatre and movies, Walter had never experienced these things, that everything he knew he had to teach himself, even how to swim and play guitar.

Summary

- Social, economic, and cultural capital are all linked, with social capital and economic capital being required to attain cultural capital through education, which in turn was needed to build social capital networks and thus economic capital;
- This cohort grew up in homes where economic capital was scarce or restricted to setting up the family with their own home and material possessions;
- Scarce and restricted economic capital meant that it had to be prioritised. This restricted access to education, as well as the second generation being able to access the same resources and experiences as their Australian peers;

Parallel lives

It was obvious in this study that many interviewees, while growing up, led what I refer to as "parallel lives". That is, rather than having "hybrid" lives in which they blend cultures, selecting particular features which they want to hold onto, they actually lived two separate lives. That is, living according to their families' cultures at home and according to the mainstream culture when in public. The message to "Australianise" was given very clearly to the children by their teachers, Australians, and sometimes their family members. Their entrance into the school environment often began the first step for this cohort into their "parallel lives". Adrianne was the perfect example, becoming "Anne" at school and in public but Adrianne at home with her family, and maybe also with the family's Polish friends. Peter also, unwittingly, lead two separate lives. That is, he was the Polish son in the parental home where he spoke only Polish with his parents and ate Polish food, and this continued until his parents passed away. His other (Australian) life showed no indication, it seems, of his ethnicity as he was immersed in an "Australian" lifestyle so, when he married, it was outside his Polish ethnicity and he spoke only English with his wife and children.

Within the homes of interviewees whose parents worked full-time, there was further separation. Peter had commented that he had not much to do with his parents as "they lived their life, we lived ours". Curious to explore whether this was a common experience, I asked Paul whether "… at home did your parents' life and your lives coincide or did you lead completely separate lives?" He agreed that, due to both his parents working shift work, there was not much interaction with them. So while there was limited interaction within the family between parents and children, additionally, in some families, it appears the parents themselves had little time together due to the demands of working long hours and shift work.

It became more complicated, however, with friendships because, even though most of the interviewees' friends were also of migrant background, they all related to each other as Australians because, as one interviewee said "We all wanted to be Aussies", as of course, they were in reality if not in background culture and ethnicity. Most of the 2nd generation in this cohort later married Australians and this reinforced the separate lives of many, as spouses were not interested in becoming involved in the ethnic cultures, some even looking down upon the "foreign" cultures, assuming that

all DPs were from peasant backgrounds. Of course, the fact that not many of them spoke about their experiences could have reinforced this notion.

The reason for these parallel lives lay in the policy of assimilation that was forced on DP families and other migrants, even British, during the 1950s almost through to the 1970s. As has been shown in this study, children were forbidden to use other languages than English in school or even in public and they had witnessed the humiliation of their parents and other migrants, being told by complete strangers to "Speak English!" In one case, an interviewee and her siblings had their Polish school books taken away from them, while others were made to feel so embarrassed about their foreign names that they anglicised them – even changing names by deed poll. Interviewees were also made to feel embarrassed by their parents' lack of English skills and foreign accents.

Lack of English language skills in families was a problem in more than one respect, as it created extra pressure on families and sometimes barriers between children and parents. In my own case, as a 2nd generation, communication with my Polish-born father was always difficult as I had no Polish language skills and his own English language skills, though heavily accented, were well advanced but not advanced enough for meaningful interpersonal communications. Children also put pressure on their parents to speak English for different reasons. Katie rejected her ethnic roots and would only speak English at home. Peter spoke with resignation of the difficulties his parents had created for their families by their resistance to learning more than rudimentary English.

In some ways, therefore, an implicit line of demarcation developed between 2nd generation DPs and their parents over belonging and degree of Australianism. For this cohort to lead their parallel lives, they had to reconstruct their identities to adapt to circumstances and to fit into the socio-political environment. Even those who were leading parallel lives laid claim to being "Australian" while others described themselves as Australian but or Polish/German or other heritage.

Leading parallel lives, however, affected the way in which interviewees identified themselves and even constructing hybrid lives as they went into adulthood did not alleviate the wish to "fit in". I believe that the strong connection to place by some of the interviewees was a recognition of their identity, even their dual identity, such as Paul's term "looking at a gum tree through pine tree eyes". The search for identity in this cohort led many to seek family much later in life, with varying results. Those

with Polish background had been prevented from finding their roots, their family identities due to the Iron Curtain. Once they had done so, many had a renewed sense of identity, which either incorporated their ethnic identity or made them realise their "Australian-ness".

Though research on Dutch migrants in Australia showed they had conflict of identity, not knowing whether they were Dutch or Australian, but feeling like both (Peters, 2000, 2001; Walker-Birckhead, 1993), the issue with my interviewees seemed to be more that of belonging, fitting in, rather than having a clash of identities. That is, even the interviewees who had migrated while children still considered Australia their home in spite of the latent longing for Europe coupled with their love for the Australian landscape. This is possibly because, apart from the older interviewees, the DP 2nd generation were never embedded in their parental culture in Europe. That is, in this cohort, most of their parents had been forcibly displaced while still quite young and remained in Germany or another foreign land, until migrating. Consequently, the 1st generation also suffered loss of their culture and language during those years. Therefore, the 2nd generation had no fundamental experience of being Polish or German, as did the 2nd generation Dutch, Italian and other children from migrant families whose parents still had roots in their homeland prior to migrating.

Within this cohort, it can be seen that, as the 2nd generation assimilated into the Australian culture and exerted pressure upon the parents to adopt more Australian ways at home, the ethnic culture at home weakened. Within a very short period of their lives, that is, during their school days, my interviewees had become imperceptible from other Australians in appearance, language, and by adopting Australian culture, for example, the sporting culture prevalent in Australia.

However, with the arrival of other migrant groups, especially voluntary migrants such as the Italians and Greeks, who refused to give up their cultures and assimilate, and the resultant move into integration rather than assimilation, it appears that this cohort were then comfortable to move into the emergent multicultural society. This then led to some hybridity of their cultures as they no longer had to hide who they were, as some interviewees noted.

Resilience

Ledogar and Fleming (2008) link social capital to resilience, stating that social capital can be both an asset and a resource for resilience, in either the community or the individual. Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker (2000) (cited in NSW Department of Community Services, 2007, p.3) describe resilient children as "those who achieve normal development despite their experience of past or present adversity". Among the extensive literature on the concept of resilience, factors thought to build resilience in children were: positive relationships between parent and child; peer support; educational support; and community engagement (Cowen & Work, 1988; Criss, Pettit, Bates, Dodge, & Lapp, 2004; Stewart et al., 2004; Intrinsic resilience factors include: hope and will to overcome (nature); affiliation and social support; meaning and purpose; capacity to step back; reframing one's self-image. Zimmerman (2000, no pagination) also states that: "People who cope well with adversity are able to ask for help from others if they do not have a strong family support system. Setting goals and planning for the future is also a strong factor in dealing with adversity".

Criss et al. (2004) results of their study of 585 families with 5 year old children stressed "the importance of positive peer relationships as buffers for children exposed to family risk and adversity" (p.1233).

The lack of social, cultural and economic capital in this cohort as they were growing up led to the development of versatile, adaptable and resilient behaviour, commencing in childhood. Ledogar and Fleming's (2008) study on resilience in disadvantaged Australian aboriginal youths, also found that they youths had built resilience in spite of having limited encouraging factors and suggested that this should be examined in future research.

Factors divided into the categories of "risk" and "protective" were drawn up by the NSW government in their research on developing resilience in children (see table below). The report determined that for a child to become resilient, they needed to have mainly protective factors and less risk factors, meaning that the more protective factors the more resilient the child would become. A *risk* factor is a factor that increases the likelihood of a future negative outcome for a child while a *protective* factor is a variable that decreases the probability of future negative outcomes by buffering against risk factors.

Table 10: Risk and protective factors for resilience in children

Risk factors	Protective factors
Childhood	
birth injury/disability/low birth weight insecure attachment poor social skills	social skills attachment to family school achievement
Family	
poor parental supervision and discipline parental substance abuse family conflict and domestic violence social isolation/lack of support networks	supportive caring parents parental employment access to support networks
School	
school failure negative peer group influences bullying poor attachment to school	positive school climate sense of belonging/bonding opportunities for some success at school and recognition of achievement
Community	
neighbourhood violence and crime lack of support services social or cultural discrimination	access to support services community networking participation in community groups

Source: www.community.nsw.gov.au/researchtopractice@community.nsw.gov.au

It is interesting that in this cohort, as in that of Ledogar and Fleming's (2008) Aboriginal youth cohort, many if not most of the protective factors were missing, and there were a significant number of risk factors present; yet in both studies, members of each cohort appear to have developed some sort of resilience. This indicates that resilience can develop without adequate support, though this is a difficult process and may be a tenuous sort of resilience, as it is more than likely built on survival coping skills. Some of these coping behaviours could have been, as one interviewee said, adapting to the mainstream culture and "putting up" – which to me indicates endurance, another form of resilience.

It was significant that few members of the cohort spoke of being assisted by others in their lives. Consequently, it seems they became quite independent. One focus group participant, a very independent woman, said that she was not able to recognise her strength and develop resilience until she left her parental home. This could have been a gender issue, if one refers back to Richard's statement that "Polish" girls were dominated by their parents, and the expectations in some families was that the girls had to look after their brothers, so were expected, in this way, to be submissive in the family. However, Richard also expressed his frustration that as he was growing up, his mother had behaved submissively in public, but also expected him to do so, when he wanted to hold his head high. Monika, too, noted that her mother thought they were not as good as other people and to some extent had absorbed this belief even though her (Australian-born) friend tried to convince her otherwise.

This research so far stresses the importance of the parent rather than community in initiating resilience in children. This was through either good or poor, even non-relevant behaviour modelling. However, most of the modelling by parents appears to have been that of survival, endurance and adapting to a hostile environment. In a situation, such as my interviewees had, while their parents were an example of resilience built on determination and adaptability, it may not have been appropriate to the circumstances of the 2nd generation, who in reality, needed the support of outside networks and parents combined.

The majority of those whom I interviewed grew up in difficult circumstances. Dealing with family issues while finding their own way in life required personal flexibility, determination, thus versatility. Other descriptions, such as "tough" and "resilient but vulnerable" were also brought up by focus group members. In many cases they developed independence without outside support, perhaps even because of

this. Additionally, it is possible that the excessive amount of responsibility that some, as children, bore and the circumstances under which this occurred, such as the effect of mental health issues in the family, was another factor in building resilience. Bonanno (2005) when talking about college students in New York following the September terrorist attacks, spoke of "adaptive flexibility", that is, flexibility in emotion regulation, defined as the ability to effectively enhance or suppress emotional expression when instructed to do so (p.136), which is exactly what Rebecca described in her interview.

Yet, it cannot be assumed that every member of this cohort became resilient due to adverse events in their lives. Looking at the interviews separately from the focus groups, it was clear that some interviewees struggled through their lives due to parental mental health issues. Rebecca, for example, had developed an outer toughness because of her need to hide her vulnerability from the outside world and there was still latent anger associated with this, as she felt abandoned while young. Like some of the focus group members, Rebecca was unable to ask for help when she needed it, most likely because of the shame the family felt about her father, though she was fortunate to have become embedded in a supportive family when she married. It was stated with confidence by one interviewee (Richard) that 2nd generation DPs in general had acquired mental health problems due to their stressful upbringing. Obviously, this does not apply to all members of the cohort, but there were those who did agree with this.

Even though interviewees with highly stressful backgrounds were able to find their way through the education systems, at varying levels, as well as build their own communities and networks, even families, does this mean that they are resilient? If so, how does emotional or psychological vulnerability fit into the definition of "ability to bounce back after adverse events"? For those who grew up in traumatised families yet have managed to create their own lives, will the traumas return as they age and have greater understanding? How did members of this cohort, who felt they had suffered extreme events due to their parents' war and resettlement traumas, build resilience in the absence of protective factors? Some of these issues are currently being explored in Holocaust literature (Scharf & Mayseless, 2011; Shmotkin, Shrira, Goldberg, & Palgi, 2011; Shrira, Palgi, Ben-Ezra & Shmotkin, 2011). Also Pham (2013) points out that children of Holocaust survivors and those who do not speak of their experiences are more prone to intergenerational transmission of trauma (p.6).

During the focus group interviews, intrinsic factors such as hope and will to overcome, having a purpose or motivation to survive, and social support were all identified as important for building strength and resilience. What became evident as I interviewed this cohort were their personal qualities such as: insight; independence; commitment to family relationships; initiative; creativity; humour; and their apparent versatility/adaptability and morality; all of which are indicative of resilience.

I also noted in interviews the strength that they drew from the natural environment while they were growing up. However, while Richard found his sense of belonging to be beside a particular location along the river, it was also a refuge from his family. It was interesting that many connected belonging with the natural environment, for example, stating where they belonged and linking it to the Australian or European landscape, or both, and continuing to engage with it throughout their lives.

While there is a significant amount of literature and research about building resilience in children, it is lacking on the subject of risk and protective factors in later life. This is something that has been researched for some time in the US and Israel under the field of Holocaust survivor studies. Indeed, as there are many similarities in family background, as far as having parents who survived war and dislocation, results from the Holocaust studies as they relate to 2nd generation Holocaust Survivors (HS), it could also be applied to 2nd generation DPs in Australia. That is:

> Narratives relating to the parenting of second-generation Holocaust survivors underscored the parents' desire to provide their children with a different experience from their own experience with their HS parents. They wished to encourage their children's independence; to openly communicate with them; to respect their children and treat them gently rather than enforcing compliance; and to use less parental control, overprotectiveness, and strain (Wiseman & Barber, 2008 cited in Scharf and Mayseless, 2011, p.1541).

The intention to bring up their children differently to the way they had been raised was voiced by some interviewees, though a small number continued to parent in the same manner as they had been parented, as they saw it as a positive way of doing so.

While there are numerous studies exploring the transmission and effects of trauma in Holocaust survivors, including second and third generation, in the US and Israel,

there are none about post-WWII survivors and their children in Australia. Any studies which have been carried out have been done only over the last few decades due to an escalation of regional conflict and the growing awareness of the consequences of war upon children, plus the effect of living with trauma (Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick, & Stein, 2012; Goldson, 1996; Messo, 2012). While the more recent research has focussed upon the effects of being in a war as it pertains to children, this is probably applicable to only a few members of the 2nd generation DP cohort. The memories of this lingered in these few members, but it was not apparent how much this affected each person now. However, it is important to realise that many of the more recently war-affected children may be facing similar situations as some of this cohort if they are resettled in another country, especially one which is culturally and ethnically different to their own. Fazel et al (2012), in their systematic review on the mental health of displaced and refugee children, state that:

> The process of sociocultural adaptation can be quite gradual, and refugees integrate to different extents with the host community. Children with disrupted or minimal school education are suddenly immersed in a new education system. Racial discrimination and bullying, exacerbated by policies to accommodate asylum seekers in already impoverished and disadvantaged areas, are widespread. Immigration policies for dispersal and detention can negatively affect refugees' attempts to settle in their host community (p.266).

One must ask why there is a deficit of research studies on displaced families in Australia, especially considering the size of the DP intake. More importantly, quite early research on mental health in migrants, as already discussed in the literature review, found that there was a significantly higher percentage of DPs, especially Polish and Russian, than other migrants, suffering mental health issues. The implications for the ageing population and their children are something which should have been addressed many years ago. As stated, in the US studies on Holocaust survivors, which include DPs, are plentiful. Perhaps the difference stems from the fact that, in contrast to Australia, the US was a major recipient of Jewish Holocaust survivors. Additionally, there is a great awareness of Jewish peoples, whose stories have become embedded in the American psyche and are represented in various forms

of media, such as cinema and visual arts, and in which people of Jewish background are prominent; for example, Barbra Streisand[95] and Jerry Seinfeld [96]. Interestingly, portrayals of the family dynamics between Jewish parents and their 2nd generation children play upon neuroses and popular Jewish stereotypes, and are presented with both pathos and humour; whereas cinema and documentaries about Australian DPs and their families, such as *Romulus My Father, Silver City, and Once My Mother*, are generally serious and tend toward the tragic.

The relatively few Jewish refugees who arrived in Australia were virtually unnoticed within the Jewish communities which took them in, apart from when they became successful in public life or business; for example, Frank Lowey and "Larry" Adler (Collins, 1991, p.58). Therefore, with little concept of the human after-effects of Holocaust, there has been limited understanding of the war-time survivors in Australia or the concept of secondary trauma in second and third generations. While it is obvious that post-WWII these were mainly the Eastern Europeans, who had been specifically targeted by the Nazi and Soviet regimes, it is worth pointing out that people from other nationalities, including the German parents of this cohort, were also survivors of the war and quite possibly would also exhibit symptoms of trauma which would affect the 2nd generation. This was obvious from interviews with cohort members, such as Katie and Katrina, whose German mothers, married to Eastern European DPs, were affected by being "in exile" from their families, as well as living with war-affected husbands which then impacted upon their children.

Studies on stress in trans-generational Holocaust survivors focus on resilience, vulnerability, and stress-related behaviours which have been inherited or acquired second-hand from parents with post-traumatic stress disorder. I believe these studies are also relevant to this cohort as they have many factors in common with the Holocaust 2nd generation as discussed above. A study by Shrira et al. (2011) on the offspring of Holocaust survivors at mid-life showed that this group had a unique functional profile, reporting greater well-being and optimism than the control group, however, physical health was significantly worse than the control group. The authors

[95] Barbra Streisand, uses her Jewish background to effect in the movies in which she stars, for example *Yentil,* where she plays a Jewish woman who takes on a male persona so that she can be educated, and *The Guilt Trip* a movie where she plays an over-possessive stereotypical Jewish mother. Seinfeld is long-running comedy series in which the main star, Jerry Seinfeld, a real-life comedian plays himself. The comedy often includes scenes with his on-stage Jewish parents, drawing upon Jewish stereotypes to provide comedic situations.

[96] This is an example of the embeddedness of Jewish people in the US. Neither Seinfeld nor Streisand were the children of Holocaust survivors, as far as I can find.

suggest the effect of ageing on trans-generational transmission of trauma should be further investigated. It would be difficult to ascertain whether the effect of inherited trauma from DP parents resulted in the serious health conditions that a few of the interviewees were suffering from, and the passing on of psychological trauma was implicit in some members of the cohort and disclosed by others.

What has been learned from my cohort is that:

- The second generation DPs had few of the factors said to build resilience but did so in any case;
- Resilience can be built in isolation as members of this cohort had no support networks (social capital) to draw upon;
- Focus group participants saw their resilience in terms of strength, adaptability, versatility;
- However, resilience in this cohort was mainly built as a survival strategy and not all members would have become resilient;
- Some members of this cohort were given excessive responsibility due to: parents lacking pre-existing social and economic resources and networks; parental absence because of physical and forced separation from family during the first two years of migration; hospitalisation of a parent suffering stress-related or other mental health/trauma-related problems;
- Parental behaviour, either positive or negative can be the motivation or example for resilience;
- There are many common characteristics between the second generation DPs and Indigenous Australians, as both were expected to assimilate, had to give up their inherited languages, and were marginalised geographically and socially. The difference is that Aboriginal people are still marginalised while the second generation DPs have blended into the mainstream. This would have to be a matter of race.
- Research on second generation Holocaust survivors could be relevant to second generation displaced persons.
- Children who are now refugees awaiting settlement will most likely be facing the same issues as this cohort if they are resettled in another country where they are kept in isolation, and face difficulties with language, discrimination, and lack of extended family or community support.

The circle of protection

*"We dance round in a ring and suppose, but the secret sits in the middle and knows." (*Robert Frost (Poet), *The Secret Sits)*

What came out strongly in this research was the importance of the family culture and its effect on the 2nd generation as it operated in isolation from any extended family or pre-existing friendships and community. As already discussed, in the absence of family social capital and low economic resources, some members of the DP families in this cohort were burdened with excessive amounts of responsibility from an early age. Especially in the older siblings, this eventuated in the oldest child taking on a pseudo-parenting role. This was not gender specific in this cohort, though this changed as the parents aged and the caretaking role, it appeared, was generally taken on by a female sibling to liaise with officials and health professionals on their parents' behalf. It was confirmed by McGoldrick (1989) that: "Women tend to be the caretakers and bearers of the emotional responsibility for relationships in families" (p29).

While the circumstances of my interviewees have many commonalities with other migrant children, their experiences were complicated by the fact that a number of their parents still suffered from the traumas of dislocation and effects of war. Living with a mentally ill parent was a fact of life for those who were in this situation. Most of the 2nd generation whom I interviewed and who had lived in the Northam camps in WA were aware of the post-traumatic illnesses, suicides, and associated behaviours in DP families, including domestic violence, which were often exacerbated or initiated by their migration to Australia. Interviewees spoke of the lack of adult protection or support within some camps and of "everyone" being in the same situation. Paradoxically, others found the community to be supportive, though in different ways, such as socially and practically, in the early stages of migration. However, for members of this cohort who were affected by parental mental health issues as they grew up, there was neither support nor understanding at this time, especially by Australian institutions and authorities, of the effects of parental mental illness on the family. Due to the lack of understanding by authorities that the DPs and their families were in a similar situation to the Holocaust survivors in the US, there were no agencies set up to assist them. Additionally, this was made more difficult due to the stigma, both in DP communities and the Australian society

regarding people with mental health issues, and which still exists today. Therefore, there was little or no support available to DP families, and especially the second generation.

A report by the Committee of the Commonwealth Immigrations Advisory Council (1961) on the incidence of mental illness among migrants found it to be above the national average between the years 1948-1952 and noted that the main sufferers were the DPs, especially the Polish DPs. This tied in with findings of the Burdekin Report (1993). Another study by Mordoch and Hall (2008, p.1128) indicated that children living with a mentally ill parent are 3 times more likely to develop mental illness themselves so it is not surprising that several of the interviewees sought counselling later in life, though they did not discuss with me their motives for doing so.

There is little information, however, on the effect of living with a parent who has suffered the traumas of war and dislocation, as did members of this cohort. In most cases DPs did not talk about their experiences, and any trauma-related parental behaviour was kept secret within the family. Also, signs of trauma may not have been obvious, especially to outsiders, during the parent's midlife. Barak and Szor (2000) found in their study of WWII Holocaust and other veterans that during the midlife period there was often masking of "intrusive" symptoms even though post-traumatic stress had been present in their subjects for 50 years (p.58). Consequently, while there was tacit understanding within this cohort, while growing up, that some of their parents suffered from stress and other trauma related behaviours, a concern is that they accepted this as "normal"; even perceiving harsh discipline, suspicion, overly controlling behaviour and general mistrust as a cultural trait.

Position in family was important, as was gender. The oldest children bore the most responsibility, with the younger buffered from many challenges faced by their older siblings. For example, the oldest was usually the communicator for the family, though all at some stage did this, while the younger brothers and sisters benefited by having an older sibling who could speak English and understood the Australian culture.

The result of living with a traumatised parent was that the 2nd generation became, in effect, the "keepers of secrets" within the family. As has been shown in this study, the interviewees were sometimes unwilling and even unknowing participants to secrets, other times they kept family secrets due to the shame they felt at their parents' behaviour and how they would be perceived by others.

As this generation grew up and left home, they continued to hold the family secrets but their responsibilities lessened as their parents had less economic stress and formed stronger networks within both ethnic and Australian communities. Therefore, the responsibility that the 2nd generation carried when they were children appeared to ease as their parents established themselves in Australia. However, as the 1st generation aged, the situation which faced the 2nd generation when they were children repeated itself in that they once again, for various reasons, became the liaison between their parents and outside resources. Some of these reasons were mentioned by the interviewees and some my siblings and I experienced with our parents. I refer to this identified area and process as the "circle of protection".

How this circle of protection can be conceived, is demonstrated in the following diagrams of the way in which many of the families in the cohort operated, including my own family.

Figure 4 below is a visual representation of the inner layer of the "circle of protection". The 1st generation DP sits firmly in the middle of this concentric circle. They represent the core, or genesis, of the experiences which my cohort had during their lives. They also hold/held many secrets, most of which were not revealed; some were revealed much later in life and not always in the most beneficial manner, as we saw with Monika and Jessica.

Figure 4: The Middle

This figure also outlines the circumstances which the DPs had to overcome in Australia to establish themselves in Australia and support their families. While the

1st generation had the onus to earn income, save and set up homes, they still lacked the social networks and language skills to assist them in their endeavours. It then became the responsibility of their children, specifically the older children, once they began school and could speak English sufficiently, to be the *liaison* between parents and the outside institutions and networks, such as the Taxation Office, educational institutions, and medical services, where they would act as translators or fill out forms on behalf of the parent/s. That is, they became *facilitators*, or enablers, for the family. Some also became the "older brothers" and "second mothers" taking care of their siblings due to family circumstances.

Figure 5: The second generation

In *Figure 5* (above) the second circle, representing the 2nd generation, is placed as a "barrier" or "buffer", depending upon the circumstances, between the core and the outer layers of the circle. In some ways, it forms a protective circle between the 1st generation and outside institutions, as well as facilitating. The diagram shows the areas that the 2nd generation had to negotiate within their lives while having to build their own social networks within the Australian community and at school.

In-family secrets, such as Rebecca kept, contributed very early to her emotional separation from her parents. Yet, Rebecca kept the family secret of her father's drunken and at times violent behaviour, even to the extreme where she was unable to access any support for herself. Being seen as shameful, this family secret was hidden from the public eye. In this way, she, her mother and her siblings formed a "circle of protection" around their parents but mainly the father. In some ways it was also to protect the dignity of members of the family, especially given that, while still very

young, some of the 2nd generation did not want to expose their parents or themselves to the disrespect of Australian authorities and sometimes local people towards them which they had witnessed while children.

As communicators for the parents and siblings the 2nd generation acted, in some ways, as a *buffer*, and *filter*, between the parents and outside resources while having to negotiate these themselves without any prior knowledge (social capital). Therefore they were also the gatekeepers for their parents in regard to outside agencies, filtering the information that was relayed to them. However, when young, they did not often have the skills to perform this role. This was not a situation that suited either the 1st or 2nd generation and, as both settled into the Australian society, the need for the 2nd generation to act as the filter eased, though never completely disappeared.

The final and outer circle (*Figure 6)* represents the external layer of the circle, which are the resources required by the 1st generation. It also shows newly emerging issues due to 1st generation ageing and the re-emergence of previous issues. Issues in the ageing in the 1st generation, such as loss of their peers through death and morbidity, dementia, and regression of English language skills, lead to increasing isolation and a greater need of outside resources than they had on early migration. It also means that family members, that is, the 2nd generation, are relied upon more, as has been described in the interviews.

The community which sustained them in their early migration has all but died out. Additionally, as some interviewees related, the re-emerging memories of DPs war-time trauma as they aged also affected how they coped at home. Moreover, aged care facilities for the DPs were/are rarely culturally appropriate. Due to these factors, the 2nd generation has had to renew, or intensify, their roles in liaising between their parents and outside institutions, such as nursing homes, medical, Centrelink and even financial institutions.

Figure 6: The outer circle

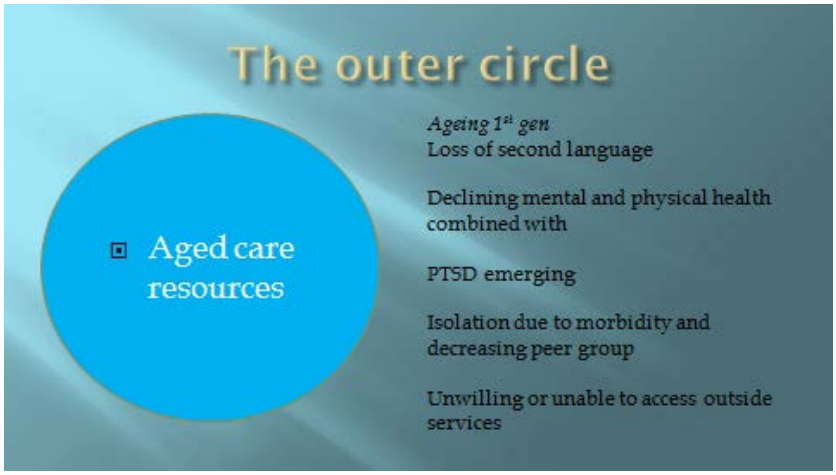
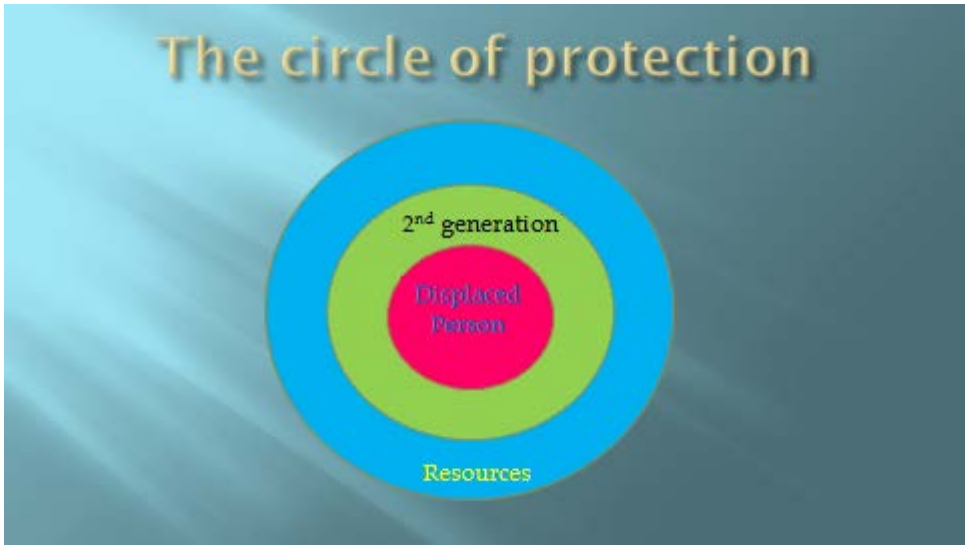


Figure 7 below shows the full circle of protection. The aged DP parent is in the centre of the concentric circles. Within the circle, the 2nd generation has three functions:

- *Liaison*, where they liaise with the necessary institutions and services;
- *Filter*, a gatekeeping role, where the amount and type of information is filtered through to the outside world by them;
- *Buffer*, acting as a protective "shield" around their parent/s to ensure that the parent maintains their dignity and feels safe, particularly when they are re-experiencing latent trauma.

Figure 7: The circle

- 

Further considerations

- It is not clear as to the morbidity of the 1st generation, but it *is* certain that many had experienced deprivation and hard labour during the war years, followed by equally labour intensive work in sometimes harsh environments on migration to Australia. One would therefore expect the rate of morbidity to be quite high in comparison with the rest of the population. If so, the 2nd generation could have been responsible for their ageing parents before they themselves were at an advanced age.
- The issue of poor communication due to ageing and language difficulties (more difficulty with accents) was brought home to me vividly when my own father was quite elderly. I witnessed firsthand at my father's medical appointment, that he and his doctor of many years, were completely misunderstanding each other, with the result that each finished the consultation mistakenly believing that they had resolved the problem. Therefore, this makes it necessary for DPs' families to have greater involvement with the health professionals as their DP parents age.

Given that the 1st and 2nd generation had to once more re-engage with the circle, albeit on a different level, what has the effect of being the liaison, filter, and buffer for those who have always had this role? The pressure and feelings of responsibility for their families, including parents and siblings, combined with their own ageing, was too much for some of my interviewees, as was described by the focus group participant who had been told by her counsellor that her nervous breakdown was caused through guilt of not being able to look after everyone else due to her illness. There were, in this cohort, several members who had been affected by serious and chronic illness, as well as having to care for themselves, their family members, and their parents. One focus group member, while supporting her husband who received permanent injury in the Vietnam War was, at the same time, the liaison for her parents with government services, such as Centrelink, which was where she discovered her father's traumatic secret.

One factor which became evident as the 2nd generation aged, along with their parents, was that secrets, when revealed, impacted upon their lives, sometimes causing great emotional trauma. The most obvious case is that of Monika, who was told by her mother's doctor that she was adopted, and in a most insensitive way. One focus group participant, as well as my sister and I, found out that our fathers had

been imprisoned in Germany during the war. This was a great shock for us all. For myself, it was made even more painful by the fact that he had held onto this secret for so many years. I then realised why he was so emotionally remote and understood the reason for many of his behaviours. As the interviewee said: I never really knew my father till (his secret was revealed)".

In Australia the surviving Displaced Persons and other Eastern and Southern Europeans who migrated to Australia in the 1940s and 1950s make up a significant proportion of the most elderly (Collins, 1991, p186). Most of my interviewees no longer had living parents but those that do face the situation where, at a time when they themselves are ageing, they must once again be caretakers for their parents.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This study set out to explore the experiences of a cohort of 2nd generation DPs post-WWII. The grounded theory methods employed brought out a number of factors which I considered to be of relevance in this cohort. These are summarised below and are followed by recommendations for further research or investigation.

The study found that this was a distinct cohort in that their families were the first non-British mass migration of refugees to Australia. Many members of this cohort lived their first few years of life in Australia in isolation, both geographic and social. Sometimes this isolation extended to within their own families as they had no pre-existing relatives or network in Australia and in some families, little meaningful contact with their parents, many of whom were working long hours as well as shift-work to secure enough income to set up their homes.

The most important aspect of this cohort, the 2nd generation DPs, is that they, in reality, in their first years had limited contact with mainstream Australians and their culture. This was more so before they went to school, however, for younger siblings this may not have been to the same extent as for their older brothers and sisters.

The main source of culture and learning was within the ethnic family and community, after which began the gradual separation of the 2nd generation from these influences. In effect, the 2nd generation, while they absorbed certain cultural aspects from their parents and ethnic community, such as their parents' work ethic and the reciprocity within the migrant community, did not directly benefit from this. Their parents and the other DPs, on migration and for many years afterward, had no pre-existing social capital such as the associated networks and culturally-specific knowledge to assist them (the 2nd generation) to fit easily into Australian society or with their educational and career achievements. Although some of this cohort did enter professions at the parental workplaces, perhaps due to their connections, choices and networks in wider career networks would have been limited. Therefore, the 2nd generation had to create its own social, cultural, and economic capital.

Many of this cohort, including myself, had one or both parents suffering the after-effects of war and displacement. This manifests in many ways; depression and anxiety; overly strict discipline; lack of trust in people around them; fear of bureaucracy; the abuse of alcohol; "nervous breakdown" and finally leading in some cases to schizophrenia or even suicide. Obviously not including schizophrenia and

suicide, some of these behaviours appear to have been seen as normal in the families where they occurred. However, children had to take on extra responsibilities due to this, and there was not often help available for them or the other parent when one parent was hospitalised. As already stated, this is how the "circle of protection" developed. Yet, even within this role, children were not given information about their parents. Most knew very little about what their parents had experienced prior to coming to Australia, so, while they carried the burden when needed, they were not fully aware of the circumstances. This culture of secrets and silences seemed to have caused some damage, therefore, to the relationships within the family, particularly between the child and parents and sometimes even between siblings when one sibling had to take over the parenting role

The results of the study are as follows:

1. For the DPs and their families the DP community was extremely important as without each other they would have struggled even more than they did.
2. Isolation, social, geographic, from family of origin, and sometimes within the family itself, was a reality for some of this cohort. This isolation was detrimental to the 2nd generation in many ways
    a. Isolated from the main community
    b. Limited opportunities to expand their experiences beyond the migrant community and restricted by the family situation
    c. No resources in the first few years and no official preparation for schooling and inclusion in the Australian community
    d. No access to adult mentors, not even teachers
3. In the cohort there was also a relatively high degree of parental mental health issues, most likely relating to trauma, which the 2nd generation were aware of but had normalised. However, in some families this became part of the family secrets.
4. Therefore, the 2nd generation were forced to find their own ways of adapting and developing survival skills (resilience) in the face of little support outside the migrant community and the pressure to assimilate and fit into the Australian society.
5. They did this by leading parallel lives. That is:

a. Trying to look the same as their Australian peers, eg. same uniform, same clothes;

b. Hiding aspects of their home lives, such as: type of food, ethnic language; avoiding asking Australian children home; and by refusing to speak any language but English outside the home;

c. Developing their own communities, mainly within sporting areas and this was mainly the males;

d. School friends were kept separate from the migrant friends with whom they associated in the camps or in their streets. However, as the 1st generation were more accepted by the Australian population and the 2nd generated their own networks and community outside the family, this isolation was eased, even though some residual feelings about being different or not belonging still remained.

6. The roles that the 2nd generation took within the family, and for their parents while young, such as liaison, filter and buffer, resurfaced though in a different form as both generations aged.

7. There are many resemblances in this cohort with 2nd generation Holocaust survivors and this line of research should be followed up on.

Future research directions

This research has implications for policy formulation regarding present day refugee families. Even though this cohort has been historically bypassed, the lessons learned from their experiences should go toward forming humane policies for refugee and displaced families. The importance of this cohort is that this is a historical look at how their experiences formed their lives.

Further research is needed around the issue of assimilation being forced upon migrant peoples of any ethnicity, which is especially relevant to displaced persons, who psychologically need to hold onto their culture and identity. This is more so for the second generation who are expected to assimilate as if they did not already have an identity. Studies on the effect of losing ethnic culture and identity in third generation DPs in Australia are also needed.

Concluding remarks

In spite of the "successful" blending in of 2nd generation non-British migrants in Australia, including the influx of Indo-Chinese in the 1970s, there is still angst in the population about refugee migrants, particularly those of non-Caucasian background. It is ironic that in a few years, 1947-1952, almost 180,000 refugees arrived in Australia yet in September 2015, the Australian government proudly announced that it would take in a grand ***total*** of 12,000 refugees from Syria and Iraq, in addition to the existing refugee restricted intake of 13,750 per annum, (https://www.border.gov.au/Trav/Refu/response-syrian-humanitarian-crisis).

The current global situation with refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, flooding into Europe, as well as asylum seekers who have for many years sought refugee status can be likened to the post-WWII period in the amount of people searching for safety from political regimes. If Australia is to take in refugees from these regions with a view to settlement, it would do well to look at the experiences of the 2nd generation DPs cohort from Polish and German background, and others with similar backgrounds of displacement. Even though the majority of this cohort eventually settled in well and saw themselves as, not only of Australian nationality, but as belonging in this land, there remains the residual hurt of the way in which their parents, the 1st generation were treated, and sometimes too, themselves. The lack of

support placed many in this cohort in impossible situations, which children should not have to endure. The World Health Organisation states that:

> The Convention offers a vision of the child as an individual and as a member of a family and community, with *rights and responsibilities appropriate to his or her age and stage of development* (my italics). By recognizing children's rights in this way, the Convention firmly sets the focus on the whole child. (http://www.unicef.org/crc/index_protecting.html)

In my opinion, the 2nd generation whom I interviewed, even though they preferred to call themselves strong, adaptable or versatile, were survivors. I believe them to be resilient, even though they had few of the factors which were believed necessary for resilience to manifest. I conclude this chapter with a saying by writer and artist, Mary Ann Radmacher, who sums up the experiences of this cohort:

“Courage doesn't always roar. Sometimes courage is the quiet voice at the end of the day saying, "I will try again tomorrow””.

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Appendix 1

Appendix 1a

Advertisement placed in Western Australian and community newspapers

Can you help?

I am a Masters student at Curtin University researching Australian post World War 2 immigration policy and I am looking for volunteers to take part in this research. If you are from a German or Polish background and your parents migrated to Australian between 1947 and 1952 then I would like to interview you. If you are interested in participating, my contact details are (name, curtin email, CUSP phone number).

Appendix 1b:

Participant information form

My name is Ursula Ladzinski, I am currently carrying out a research study for my Master of Philosophy degree at Curtin University of Technology. The title of my research is Second generation migrant experiences of post-war migration policy in Australia.

The study will focus upon people with a German and/or Polish parent who migrated to Australia between 1947 and 1952 under the International Refugee Organisation scheme. That is, children of migrants or migrant children who came to Australia with their parents during 1947 to 1952 when they were less than 12 years of age. You are one of the people that I am interested in interviewing.

Your role. In my research about second generation migrants in Australia I would like to hear about your experiences of different post-war immigration policies in Australia throughout your life, beginning with the policy of assimilation which was most likely the policy during your childhood. I would like to find out how, or whether, as a migrant child growing up under assimilation and later policies such as multiculturalism this had any noticeable impact on your life. Your perceptions of these different periods will be very important in understanding the personal effects of immigration policies on second generation migrants.

If you are willing to participate in this study, I will be asking you to volunteer some time for at least one interview, which should take 1-2 hours. This can be at a location which is most convenient to yourself and is best to be somewhere quiet where we will not be interrupted. I may need to contact you after the interview if I have any questions about the interview or anything else I am not sure about. I will show you a copy of the interview to check to make sure it is accurate or to make changes.

Consent. If you agree to participate then you will need to sign a consent form to say that you understand what the research is about and agree to being interviewed and allow me to use the information you have provided in this research study. As this participation is voluntary you can withdraw from the research at any time, without having to give a reason.

Confidentiality. I will be the only person with access to your personal details which will be kept separate in a locked cabinet so that other people cannot access that information. Audiotapes and transcripts will not have your name on them. After a period of 7 years the tapes and transcripts will be destroyed.

Further information. The Human Research Ethics Committee at Curtin University of Technology has officially approved this research (approval number). If you have any further questions or concerns relating to the research please call or email me (Ursula Ladzinski) on (.....) or (email) or you can also contact my Supervisor (Dr Dora Marinova) on (.....).

Should you have any complaints or concerns on ethical grounds you may contact the Human Research Ethics Committee (Phone 9266 2784) or hrec@curtin.edu.au) or in writing C/- office of Research and Development, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth WA 6845

Consent to participate in research

I (name) of (address) agree to participate in this research study.

I have read and understood the participant information sheet about the research and my role as interviewee.

I understand that my contribution is voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time without giving any reason for doing so.

I understand that my personal details such as name, address will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be given out unless specifically requested by myself and that tapes and transcripts of the interviews will be securely stored for 7 years before being destroyed.

I understand that the information which I provide will be the property of the researcher for use in this research.

Participant name

Signature Date

Witness name

Signature Date

Appendix 1c

Interview schedule

This is the interview schedule and outline with which I commence interviewing.

Prior to the interview I briefly review with the participant the purpose of the research study and how the interview will be conducted. This enables me to check whether I have provided adequate information for participant understanding and allow the participant to ask questions or raise any concerns.

The guide below is a general outline of questions which will lead the interview into each area of exploration. I begin by asking the participant very broad questions then hone in on more specific questions to draw out more information. The interview guide below is an example.

Background

- Can you begin by telling me a bit about yourself? (I would expect information such as age, marital status, profession, children, why interested in participating)
- Could you describe how your parents came to migrate to Australia and how they arrived here?
- Do you have siblings or other relatives here in Australia?

Assimilation

- What do you remember about assimilation and how it affected you and your family?
- Where did you feel the greatest sense of belonging while growing up?
- Who did you identify with most?
- What role did community play?

Integration

- As you were growing up during the 1960s and 1970s what changes did you notice in public attitudes to migrants?
- What effect did this have on your perceptions of where you belonged and who you identified with?
- Did you ever visit your parental country of origin? Can you tell me about that experience?

Multiculturalism

- Did multiculturalism impact in your life in any way?
- How do you see yourself now?
- How do you think your children identify themselves?
- Looking back, how do you think the different immigration policies affected how you perceived yourself and your sense of belonging?

Appendix 1d

Focus group interview questions

This is the framework used in both focus groups. Some questions may not have be answered or are embedded within other questions, depending upon the flow of the focus group and the characteristics of the members.

1. What is resilience?
    a. Is there another/better word than resilience?
2. What has been your experience of resilience?
    a. Does it develop only through childhood?
    b. Does it change over time?
    c. Can it be passed on?
3. What do you expect to gain from resilience?
4. What has contributed to or detracted from your ability to be resilient?

If another word is preferred to resilience then use that instead.

Return to previous location

Appendix 2

DP and migrant accommodation in Western Australia post World War Two

(Peters, 2001, pp.117-120)

Due to a nation-wide shortage of accommodation and labour to build infrastructure, the effect was that:

1. The immediate shortage of accommodation for the new immigrants meant that the State and Commonwealth governments had to lease accommodation from the Department of Defence.
2. Various types of accommodation were needed for: reception and training; holding camps; staging or workers' hostels.
3. Military establishments were converted to house the DPs and later other migrants.
4. Cost and care of the European DP and migrant camps were the responsibility of the Federal government, except workers' hostels which were run by a contracted company on behalf of the Department of Labour and National Service.
5. Cost and care of British migrant hostels was shared by both State and Federal governments.
6. Of the 23 converted military establishments in Australia, Northam was the 3rd largest after Bonegilla in Victoria, the largest, then Bathurst, NSW.

Western Australia *DP and European migrant accommodation*

The first migrant centres to open in 1947 were Graylands and Swanbourne, both converted military barracks in coastal suburbs of Perth under the auspices of the Department of Immigration. Graylands Hostel was initially a transit camp, then converted to a reception and training camp for DPs and immigrants, and Swanbourne Barracks a transit camp for assisted European immigrants. Other metropolitan camps were Karrakatta Army Camp which, in 1947 housed Polish servicemen from Britain who were in transit to the Snowy Mountain Scheme in Victoria. In Belmont, an outer suburb of Perth at that time, a converted RAAF base became a metropolitan hostel, Dunreath, for single people and couples without children (European immigrants).

British migrants were housed separately from the DPs. They were provided with accommodation at Point Walter, a converted army camp in a riverside suburb in Perth, where they could remain usually up to 3 days or until their sponsors could collect them; later, for much longer, when the British migration schemes change to allow British applicants to register for migration directly at Australia House, so they no longer needed sponsors in Australia. From 1951, newly built Nissen huts were provided as accommodation for British migrants in Graylands, in Perth. This was the longest running migrant facility in Western Australia. It closed in 1986, by which time migrants from a myriad of backgrounds had passed through its doors.

Northam and Cunderdin camps:

Almost all of the DPs, once they had disembarked were sent to one of the Northam camps, others to Cunderdin though usually via Northam. Northam is located approximately 98 kilometres from Perth city and Cunderdin another 30 kilometres from Northam, so about 120 kilometres from Perth.

The *Northam* camps were the most significant for the DPs. There were two camps, which were:

1. The Northam Reception and Training Centre, situated approximately 7 kilometres out of Northam townsite, was set up on the site of an Army Camp. This site catered solely for DPs and held up to 4,500 people. It operated from 1947-1951.
2. The Holden Immigration Accommodation Centre, situated only 1.6 kilometres from Northam townsite, was a refurbished Army General hospital. This Centre opened in 1949 and was for the accommodation of women and children whose husbands and fathers were working in remote areas. It had a capacity of 850 people. This centre continued to be used for new immigrants after the DP scheme had ended,

Cunderdin

Cunderdin camp held approximately 700-750 people. It was a converted RAAF centre which closed in 1952, once the DP program had finished. It also had facilities for pregnant women until a maternity wing was constructed at the Army camp in Northam.

Appendix 3

Second generation interviewees not migrating as DPs

While the three interviewees below have not been included in the final analysis, I have provided below an outline of who they were which is, of necessity, quite brief.

Irena

Irena was born in 1947 in England of Polish/English parents. Her father was a Polish refugee who had been fighting with the British Armed Services during WWII and had taken up residence and citizenship in England. He married an English woman. Irena was brought up as English, but remembered that her parents had frequent contact with the Polish community in her area.

In 1951, Irena's father migrated to Australia. He was sponsored by his (English) brother-in-law and his wife and lived with them in an outer Perth suburb. In 1952 Irena, her mother and her maternal grandmother migrated to Australia to join her father. Irena had clear memories and impressions of her journey to Australia with her mother and maternal grandmother on an old converted hospital ship, though she did not share them with me apart from mentioning how difficult it must have been for her mother who was looking after the grandmother, as her grandmother had dementia. Irena was a sensitive child, able to pick up the atmosphere of her environment and told me, "I had some quite interesting experiences as a child on that ship, of times from the war, the things that I saw. I have that intuitive ability to see those things".

On their arrival in Fremantle Irena and her family were met by her father, who was with his friend, she recalled, a Polish priest, who carried her off the ship. They then went with her father and the priest to her uncle and aunt's home where they were accommodated in a shed on the property while they set themselves up in their new land. While Irena's family did not have to go to any DP or migrant camps, such as the migrant reception centre in the suburb of Graylands where some of the British migrants stayed on arrival, she recalls that they did attend talks there on migration and assimilation.

Irena's migration was a form of what later became known as "chain migration", usually associated with the Italian and Greek migrants from the 1950s onward who, once they had settled in, applied to have other members of their families join them on

a family reunion basis. Irena's maternal uncle was already a migrant in Perth, Western Australia.

In the first few years after Irena arrived in Australia, the family moved a number of times as her father worked in different locations in country towns, mainly in managing small businesses, before the family moved back to the metropolitan area. The family apparently had little to do with the DP/migrant communities in the country towns as she had only distant contact with other migrant families it seemed. However, when they moved back to Perth her father once again became active in the Polish community there. Irena remembered many social and community occasions involving the Polish sporting clubs as well as contact with British international cricket teams.

When Irena was about 10 years of age her father brought his mother over from Poland to live with the family. Her maternal grandmother had passed away by this time in a nursing home. Irena said there was some tension in the household between her mother and grandmother over who was in charge of the kitchen and that her role was peacemaker. Her *Babcia* initially spoke only Polish but made an effort to learn to speak English. Irena told me she would dearly have liked to learn to speak Polish but her mother discouraged this saying, "There's no need, everyone here speaks English" so did not pursue this. She regretted not following up on this herself and stated that if her mother had learned to speak a bit of Polish it might have eased the tension with *Babcia*.

As an only child Irena saw herself as an independent child, as well as responsible, and remembers taking her netball team on a public bus when she was only about 11 years old. She did not say who her main friends were except that she had a close friend who was from a Polish family and they used to be "like sisters". She could not remember migrant children at the schools she attended though it is likely that there were DP children in the country towns in which she lived, as not all towns had Catholic schools so they would have attended State run primary schools.

Irena did not state what level of schooling she reached but worked as a secretary for many years. She married an Australian of English background but continued with the Polish tradition of Christmas Eve and the special Polish foods associated with that occasion, even though she herself did not have any traditional religious beliefs.

> I mean, today we still have a Polish Christmas Eve, every year. We have our Polish Easter. We do a lot of things. Um, some of the beautiful Polish recipes that *Babcia* used to make, and she was a wonderful cook. Her husband was a chef in Poland. She used to do some wonderful things and a lot of those things have gone by the wayside now and are not offered. I remember a lot of them and would still love to be able to make them. But also too, I eat fish but I don't eat meat, and neither does my partner or the kids so - that was their own choice as well – so some of the meat dishes have gone by the wayside. But some of the fish dishes I would still like to make but they take days to prepare, of putting them in bags for making fish rolls, rolling them in jelly. So there are some beautiful, beautiful things but I don't do those anymore.

Irena and her husband/partner visited her father's family in Poland, at a time when there was still much suspicion and bureaucracy involved in such visits. A few years later, she befriended her cousin who was visiting Australia, though she was disappointed that, over time, they lost contact as the cousin had moved from Poland.

Rosemary

The oldest of two children, Rosemary was born in Germany in1947 of a German father and German-Polish mother. The family migrated to Australia in 1954 with the financial assistance of her aunt and uncle who were already living in the south-west of Western Australia.

Rosemary's memories of Germany were brief.

> I have that defining line between Germany and Australia, so I know roughly how old I was. I can remember being in a pram and feeling snow and falling over and having band aids on me and having to have those bandaids - - bandages taken off, or those sticky plaster things. The drama that I used to create, to try to get them off!

Her other memories were vague through she noticed that in Germany they had furnishings and nice clothes and "we had nothing like that here".

While Rosemary remembered bits of her migration, such as being on the train in Germany and leaving from Bremerhaven, she did not remember much of the ship they travelled on, which was not surprising as she was quarantined with chicken pox and whooping cough for most of the voyage.

Rosemary was not quite clear about the reason for migration, as she had always considered it was due to economic circumstances and for a better life away from Europe, only to find out, just over 10 years ago, that her mother had always had in mind to work in Australia for a while then return to Germany. However, she assumed that "they could never afford to go back".

> The idea was, when my mother's brother was out here and said it was wonderful and terrific, and he helped with an assisted passage for them[97]. So part was government, part was Mum and Dad's money I think, and part was something else. I don't know. I'm not too sure about it.

Rosemary's family migrated to Australia in 1954, well after the IRO scheme had ended and at a time when the Australian government was encouraging German migrants, who they needed in their technical industries. She remembers nothing about her arrival, having no first impressions of Fremantle or even her uncle and aunt. She and her parents went to live in the South West region, where, she had been told, her father worked at a timber mill, which, being an artisan glass designer, he found very difficult. When the mill burned down the family moved to Northam.

Rosemary remembered little of the South West town they lived in, which was only for a few months, but remembers being taken to Northam in a ute (utility vehicle) and then being welcomed into a German lady's home, where the family rented a room for some months until finding other rentals and eventually building their own home in Northam. Interestingly, she pointed out that the house that she then lived in for most of her life was built to a similar design as the Government Railway houses, that is, from asbestos sheeting and metal roofing.

The family remained in Northam, where her father had a government job, though he was never able to use his real qualifications. Her mother did part-time paid work. The family life was stable in that the family was not split up due to the father's work. Rosemary said that: "But he didn't like going out bush or anything like that, he

[97] The money for their assisted passage was actually a loan, not a gift, which they eventually had to repay.

reckoned he'd done enough camping in the army when he was fighting the Russian army, so he didn't like that".

Rosemary was comfortable learning German at school because that was the language spoken at home. However, she always struggled with English. "I always felt that English was hard, and it wasn't till I got older that I realised that it was because we spoke German at home. I never got that richness of the English language at home".

Rosemary left school in Year 11 to work in a bank, rather than completing her senior High School education to Year 12, because she thought that was what her mother wanted her to do, when in fact her mother wanted Rosemary to continue with her education.

> I tuned in to the fact that they (her parents) didn't have a lot of money. I tuned in to the fact that it was a struggle. I tuned into those sorts of things so you sort of don't make trouble because that's how it is. You accept it for what it is.

Rosemary had always been a strong Catholic and the church was a large part of her life. She continued with religious traditions but at Christmas adapted the foods for the Australian climate. She married an Australian so the main language in the home was English only.

Jack

Jack was an only child, born in Germany of German parents. His grandparents were refugees from East Prussia and were living in a small hut in a German village[98]. Jack spoke of his experiences in Germany when he lived alternately with his parents and grandparents in the re-establishment period post-war. Jack's family was disrupted after the War when his parents had to move to another village where they could find work. However, this separation was mitigated by having close family to rely upon, in this case Jack's grandparents, with whom he lived with during the week while his parents were both working. Jack recalled that each weekend his grandparents placed a name tag around his neck before sending him by train to stay with his parents in the nearby village. He thought the reason for their migration was because:

[98] Jack thinks that there were a number of these huts built in Germany under the Marshall Plan, with the aim of getting the German economy restarted. He says they were built by Germans but with funding from the US, which had jurisdiction over that area of Germany.

at the end of the war you know, Germany in 1945 was a heap of rubble. There was nothing much. Survival was first and foremost, you know, not worrying too much about whether you're going to get married or live happily ever after. It was a day by day sort of and that played a big role I think, and their need for survival.

The only thing Jack remembered about the voyage to Australia was that the ship carried “lots of Europeans” as well as their arrival in Fremantle.

> We arrived in March, and March is, as you know, pretty hot in Perth and we got to Fremantle, and Fremantle in 1952, as you can imagine is not like Fremantle today. A few sheds, a few wool stores and a few Holdens[99] scattered around and not much else. And lots of flies, and lots of heat. And my mother took one look and cried, burst into tears and said “Let me stay on the ship, I want to go back”. But anyway, they persevered, and they were met by this friend of hers, and her family, and things got better. But that initial shock I think of seeing Fremantle.

I asked Jack how he had reacted. He considered:

> No. I - - it was all new and it was an adventure and I was ready to ... I sort of had this - - I don't know where it came from, sort of a view that it was Indians here, you know, like Red Indians like in America. And that I was going to see people walking around with feathers in their head and that sort of thing, but obviously quite wrong. So I just took it all in my stride. I remember my friends, my mother's friend, her father, who was an older man then, the reason that they came to Perth, or to Australia was that he had been in the prison service in England all his life, and when he retired, he had to retire in a Commonwealth country that paid pounds sterling, like the currency was in

[99] The Holden was an Australian manufactured automobile and very popular in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s and it was also suitable as a family sedan.

> pounds, and so that's how they got to Perth. I remember - - I mean I was only 7, and he was a tall white haired gentleman who bought me an ice cream, so I always remember this Pommy prison officer buying me an ice cream.

The family remained fairly settled after their migration, not moving location apart from in the early years as they were establishing themselves.

> No, we didn't go to any migrant camps or anything. We went straight to (suburb), where we lived for - - initially for a few weeks, with this friend, and her parents, and then we rented a place in another suburb for 2 years, and then we bought a house - - when I say we, my parents. I was only 7. They bought a house in Perth. That's where I lived until adulthood, twenty-two.

The reason for the lack of displacement following migration could have been due to Jack's parents professions. While his mother, as a High School language teacher, could have been employed in the regional areas, such as Northam, Narrogin, Albany for example, his father, as an aeronautical engineer could not. Neither was he able to work to his skill level as his English language skills were not good enough to get him through the retraining. He therefore worked at a lower level but still in the aircraft industry. Jack's mother taught at a more elite high school, which Jack also attended and which gave him access to a better education.

Jack's parents were both highly educated, yet he chose to enter an apprenticeship when he completed Year 10 rather than continue on to tertiary level studies. He admitted, however, that he had gone "off the rails" a bit at the age of thirteen, which was when his mother died from cancer and that this may have influenced his decision.

Jack, did not mention having any issues at school or with the language. This may have been due to his mother being an English teacher so he had educational assistance on hand. He described himself as "competently bilingual" but speaks English at home as he married an Australian.

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[redacted]

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As couple of my interviewees have spoken of having a Coolgardie Safe in their homes as they were growing up and my thesis will be going to an international examiner, I thought it might be good to include a photo and description of a Coolgardie Safe. I notice there is a nice photo in Irene White's story of Barton's Mill and was wondering whether I could get permission to it. Of course, I would be acknowledging where I have accessed it from.

Kind regards,

Ursula Ladzinski